The Nation.

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The Week.

THE adverse vote in the House on the Stewart Free-Coinage Bill removes the greatest menace from the financial and business interests of the country, and takes the silver question out of the political campaign. In our opinion it does more. It points the way to a repeal of the present silver law—the so-called Sherman Act of 1890, which Mr. Sherman himself has declared to be fraught with dangers in the future so grave that he would be as glad to repeal it as he was reluctant to vote for it. That measure is now the only menace to the financial stability of the country. It calls for an expenditure of about $4,000,000 per month for the purchase of silver bullion that is not wanted even as security for Government notes. This $4,000,000 per month takes the place of so much gold, for if it were not bought by the Government, it would form a part of the exportable produce of the country, like any other article which has a foreign market and which lessens our foreign indebtedness. The Democratic platform demands the unconditional repeal of this act. It does not substitute any other silver legislation in place of it. The Republican party is not seriously in favor of the act, and would be glad to get rid of it if the Senators representing mining camps in the West were not so numerous and so vicious. The act was forced upon the party, very much against its will, during the struggle over the Force Bill two years ago. After the present political campaign is ended, there will be no reason why this so generally dreaded and detested act should not be repealed—both parties joining in the work.

It is stated that the Senate Committee on Finance does not intend to report, even with an adverse recommendation, any of the tariff bills passed by the House and referred to it. Doubtless the smothering process will be more convenient for certain Republican Senators. There is Mr. Allison, for example, who, on September 30, 1890, said:

"If there is any faith to be placed in the iron and steel industry of our country; if there be anything in the promises, the prospects, the projects of these men, then it will turn out that when the 1st of July, 1892, shall come, we shall be producing in our own country tin plate to a very large extent. If the great iron and steel industry in the United States will not, now that they are to be protected in the production of tin, engage in that production, and compel the people of the United States to pay large and undiminished prices to monopolies in other countries, *then this tin duty will be swept from your statute books.*"

It must now be perfectly clear to the Senator that there was no faith to be placed in the "promises" of two years ago, and that the prices are not only "undiminished," but greatly increased; and therefore we shall expect him, as a member of the Finance Committee, to do his best to report to the Senate, and endeavor to pass, the House bill embodying his own promise to "sweep the tin duty from your statute books."

Senator Washburn's view of the produce markets, as outlined in his speech for the Anti-Option Bill on July 11, is unique and most interesting. The substance of his theory is that the system of short selling "practically eliminates from the commerce of the country the operation of the law of supply and demand." We gather from the Senator's further remarks that this state of affairs is best illustrated by the operations of one Pardridge, a noted Chicago speculator, who was reputed, a couple of months ago, to have cleared a million dollars through his persistent "hammering" of wheat prices. The incident is worth recalling. The gentleman in question spent several weeks in offering contracts to deliver grain at a future date, and he did not insist upon getting the highest prices for his contracts. His theory was that the farmers had a large supply on hand which they were about to bring to market, whereas the foreign buyers, having their storage houses already stocked up, were in no hurry to increase their holdings. It was his belief that when this grain arrived at the market it would find few buyers, and that the price, by the natural law of supply and demand —which, therefore, could not have been "eliminated" at this stage of the game—would decline heavily. When this decline should take place, he proposed to buy wheat at the lower figures and fulfil his contracts. The event proved his judgment to have been altogether correct. But if it had turned out that the farmers had no such amount of wheat ready for market (thus decreasing the supply), or that the English granaries had been unexpectedly emptied (thus increasing the demand), a child might guess what would have happened to the Chicago operator. This hardly looks as if the law of supply and demand had vanished altogether. The whole truth of the matter is that Senator Washburn and his allies make their impression on careless or simple-minded people only by instilling the belief that grain speculation is a kind of witchcraft, which begins by ignoring every commercial principle, and ends by trampling in pure deviltry on the neck of the unlucky farmer. Why such magicians should not, for mere love of change, try their hand at "long" speculation—Mr. Washburn says they have done nothing but sell for three years—it is impossible to conceive.

Senator Quay as the champion of morality and religion in this country is an impressive figure. Under his pious leadership, and yielding to the convincing Scripture texts which his daily study of the Bible enabled him to bring forward, the Senate voted on July 13 that the appropriation for the World's Fair should be made only on condition that the gates be closed on Sunday. It was ideally fitting that this hypocritical piece of legislation should have been fathered by the man whom the religious press of the country has freely denounced as a stench in the nostrils of honest men. While keyed up to such an unwonted pitch of virtue, the Senate also voted that no liquors should be sold on the grounds of the Fair. This was really sublime in men who were at the moment standing above a restaurant which their votes and patronage keep alive, and in which all kinds of liquors are on sale, a full price-list of wines being officially published. We have heard of cynical politicians "pandering to the better elements of society," but if any Senator thinks to strengthen himself politically by such open thrusting of the tongue into the cheek while posing as a severe moralist, he must be counting upon an extraordinary number of hypocrites among his constituency. The Senate had the grace next day to reconsider its action in regard to liquor, although it insisted upon the Quay code of morality by which the Exposition must be closed on Sunday. The excuse given for this absurd action was that a lot of petitions for Sunday closing had been received. But the theory of the framers of the Government was that the Senate was to be the branch of Congress which would not be driven into folly by popular clamor; that its members would be independent enough to stand up for what was right even if the majority of the people for the moment appeared to be on the other side. Of late years this theory has pretty much broken down, and it is to the House, rather than the Senate, that we now look for conservative action.

The most salient argument advanced on either side during the discussion of the Sunday-closing question was this passage from the speech by Senator Palmer of Illinois:

"I understand that all the saloon-keepers in Chicago are in favor of closing this institution on the Sabbath day. I can understand why it should be so. The multitudes that will go to Chicago at that time, instead of going into the Fair and witnessing the Exhibition, being there alone, strangers, will go about the saloons and places of that sort on Sunday. I understand that there is a perfect agreement on that point, and that the whiskey-sellers are in favor of closing the Fair on the Sabbath."

The "combine" of the Sabbatarians and the saloon-keepers in favor of Sunday closing of the Fair is one of the most remarkable spectacles witnessed in this country for a long time. It ought to open the eyes of some of the good people who

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signed the petitions that went to Congress. Sunday opening has been urged for the reason, among others, that it would give a great many workingmen and their families a chance to visit the Fair which they would not otherwise get. As nobody was especially interested to discover the attitude of this class of people toward the subject, few statistics have been collected. One canvass, however, has been made. The International Iron-Moulders' Union, whose headquarters are in Cincinnati, have taken a vote of the local unions upon the Sunday-opening question, and the result is three to one in favor, the vote standing 13,695 for and 4,585 against. This is doubtless a pretty fair test of the feeling among all intelligent workingmen.

The scandal of a President's seeking and securing a renomination by promises of Federal offices has been again illustrated in the case of the Charleston (S. C.) Post-office. Mr. Harrison recently sent to the Senate the nomination of William D. Crum, a negro, as Postmaster, but has been forced to withdraw it in order to prevent its rejection. Of course, the whites of Charleston objected to Crum on the ground of his color, as they would do in the case of any negro, but they won their fight against him solely by reason of Crum's course in the Minneapolis Convention. He went there as a Harrison delegate, but scandalously ratted to Blaine, and finally voted for Harrison, in pursuance, as the anti-Harrison men claim, of a bargain, which was reduced to writing, by which he was to have the postmastership in exchange for his vote. Crum cut so bad a figure before the Senate Committee on Post-offices when questioned regarding the matter that the anti-Harrison Republicans were confident they could defeat the nomination in the Senate, and the President withdrew it rather than suffer this humiliation. The whole difficulty, it will be seen, arose from the fact that Mr. Harrison used the Federal patronage in Crum's case, as in so many others, to extort a renomination.

After much travail the Republican National Committee has found a Chairman in Montana, after eighteen other men had been passed in review. His name is Carter. Some people say he is a silver-man, others say he is not. But this is really of no importance, since he is not selected for his views on the money question. The Committee wanted somebody who could and would pull. Plenty of men were in sight who could pull if they would, some who would if they could; but nobody was discovered, after four or five weeks of anxious search, who was both willing and able, except Clarkson and Carter. The former was ruled out by the President as too much of a Blaine man. The latter has apparently been selected by the President, or at all events is satisfactory to him. Mr. Carter's concern over questions of finance will relate solely to the size of checks made payable to his Committee and the ways of placing them where they will do the most good, not to the abstruse matters of coinage and ratios and premium on gold. Yet he should be warned that it is a mistake for him to suppose that he can gratify curiosity as to his real views on free coinage by saying, as he did to a reporter on Sunday, "I am a Republican, and that is-all I wish to say on that subject." The *Tribune* was at pains to point out, in its interpretation of the silver plank on June 17, that free-coinage men could stand on it with perfect ease.

The helplessness of the Governor of Idaho in the presence of the rioting miners comes as a new illustration of the political recklessness of the Republican party in admitting such States to the Union. The Governor, in his appeal to the President for help, declared that the entire available force of the Idaho National Guard numbered but 196 men, and as the rioters mustered several hundred, he naturally shrank from exposing the whole military force of a sovereign State to annihilation. The mining-camp Senators have debauched the Senate and made it a far more dangerous body than the House of Representatives. If now these new States are not going to be able to protect life and property in a case of domestic disturbance, they will be as much of a burden on the central Government as if they had remained Territories. But so long as the Republicans have gained eight or nine votes in the Senate, with which to save the protective system and imperil our financial stability, we suppose nobody has a right to complain.

As was to be expected, the demagogues of both parties are trying to win popularity by devising laws against the "Pinkerton men." One Congressman has already introduced a bill making it unlawful for any transportation company doing an inter-State business to transport any body of armed men except those engaged in the military service of the United States, or of a State or Territorial government. The Senate has before it a resolution directing an inquiry "whether any private corporation, company, or organization in the State of Pennsylvania, or other States, has attempted to employ force against any of the people of the said State, or of the United States, in violation of the Constitution of the United States." Curiously enough, this resolution exactly covers the case of the rioters at Homestead. They are confessedly members of an organization in the State of Pennsylvania, and openly avow that they have employed force against some of the people of that State and of the United States, and that they will do it again. As those against whom they employed force were using no force and breaking no law, it is evident that the members of the Amalgamated Association were employing force in violation of the Constitution of the United States.

On the other hand, it is very doubtful if the Pinkerton men sent to Homestead constitute a body of armed men in such a sense as would make it possible to prohibit their movements without violating the Constitution. The question would be whether they were united in carrying arms for any unlawful purpose or with any hostility to any established government. It would be impossible to show this, for the very object of their existence is to support the laws against the attacks of riotous mobs. It will be a very serious matter to enact a general law prohibiting the carrying of arms by a body of men, in the face of the express provision of the Constitution that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. To devise a statute that could not be evaded would be no easy matter, as the Pinkerton men need not enter any State as a body, or carrying their arms; but it is not well to attempt legislation of this kind, even if it is known that it will not be effective, without the very gravest consideration. There is a good deal more involved in it than the issue between the Carnegie Company and its men.

Last year's grain harvest was so unequally distributed over the world that it exercised a very singular influence on the finances of the ensuing season. Not the least important of its results was the swelling of our own grain exports to Europe to an unprecedented figure, the deficiency in Europe's harvest being necessarily made good from this country's enormous surplus. Our exports of breadstuffs during the eleven months ending May 31 showed an increase of no less than $168,000,000 over the same period in 1891. Unfortunately, our farmers and financiers have to testify that this gain was not an unmixed blessing. Europe's industrial depression, arising largely from its ruined harvest, had immediate reflection in our own markets. Probably the best thing that could happen for the general welfare would be a bountiful harvest abroad this year, which would give to Europe a chance for commercial revival. Apparently this wish is to be gratified. The protracted rains of 1891 have not visited Europe's wheat fields this year, and except for Russia, where the recuperative powers of agriculture were paralyzed by the disasters of a year ago, a plentiful harvest is indicated. At the same time the forecast of our own Agricultural Bureau for July, which is usually accepted as accurate, shows that the grain harvest of the United States, though more bountiful than the average, will fall something like 500,000,000 bushels short of last year's. Altogether, this is a cause for congratulation. A repetition of last year's 612,000,000-bushel wheat harvest and 2,000,000,000-bushel corn yield would menace the

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farmers with low prices and a congestion of product such as overwhelmed the cotton trade in 1891. How much we depend, even for profitable grain prices, upon industrial prosperity abroad, the closing season has forcibly taught us.

An interesting and important question, which has occasioned a good deal of conflict between the decisions of the courts of the different States, has just been passed upon by the Supreme Court of New York. A person indicted for grand larceny under the laws of this State was arrested in Wisconsin upon requisition of the Governor of New York and brought to this State for trial, but was tried for robbery instead of grand larceny, the indictment upon which the requisition was issued having been quashed. On conviction, the prisoner appealed, upon the ground that, according to a recognized principle of international law, he could not be tried for any offence other than that alleged in the requisition. The court, however, held that the relations between the States of this Union under the Constitution were different from those of two entirely independent sovereignties. The surrender of a person charged with a crime by the authorities of one country is either an act of comity on the part of the country making the surrender, or the carrying out of a treaty obligation. As the governments of the past have been as a rule despotic in character, it became necessary, in order to prevent the persecution of political offenders, to have it understood that when a fugitive was surrendered as an act of comity he should be tried for no other offence than that upon the ground of which his surrender was claimed, and this rule has been extended to the construction of extradition treaties. But, in the view of the Supreme Court of New York, extradition between the States of the Union is not governed by these rules. It is prescribed by the supreme law of the land, and is therefore not an act of comity, nor is the Constitution to be construed as a treaty. Treaties enumerate certain specific crimes, which are few in number, while the Constitution directs extradition between the States of persons charged with any crime, and it makes no difference that the offence charged is not a crime in the State from which the surrender is demanded, provided it is a crime in the State making the demand. There was a time when there were laws in the Southern States, designed to protect the institution of slavery, the infraction of which would have been regarded elsewhere as a virtuous act, and in those days there may have been some reason for restricting the right of extradition as narrowly as possible. But those days with their evils have passed away, and it is now rather to be hoped that a decision so obviously required for the enforcement of penal legislation may not be disturbed, although there is considerable authority, including, we believe, that of Judge Cooley, against it.

Immigration more than holds its own this year, the arrivals during June having been 73,120, against 68,317 in the same month last year, and 353,961 for the first half of 1892, as against 325,307 for the first half of 1891. There has been a falling off in the arrivals from every country of the United Kingdom, the whole number of Irish immigrants during the first six months of the present year being only 34,554. Germany has sent a few thousand more this year than in the same period of last year, and the Scandinavians have also been somewhat more numerous, but most of the increase in the grand total is due to the less desirable races, the Polish contingent having grown from 16,422 to 18,297, the Austrian from 17,843 to 20,127, and the Russian from 26,467 to 37,549. On the other hand, there is an ebb in the tide from Italy, the arrivals from January 1 to June 30, 1892, being only 42,090, against 49,627 in the same months of 1891, and during the twelve months ending with June this year but 60,944, against 75,143 during the twelve months ending with June, 1891.

A bulletin just issued by the Canadian census authorities shows that the proportion of foreigners to the total population is almost the same in Canada as it is in the United States, but that while during the last decade the foreign-born inhabitants in the States have, relatively to the aggregate population, increased, in the Dominion the reverse has been the case. In 1881, 14.20 per cent. of the Canadian population were foreign-born, and in 1891 but 13.50 per cent., a decrease during the decade of .70 per cent.; while in this country, on the other hand, the proportion of foreigners to the total population has risen from 13.32 per cent. in 1808 to 14.77 per cent. in 1890, an increase of 1.45 per cent. There are now only 80,480 natives of the United States in the Dominion, an increase of but 2,730 since 1881. All the older provinces except Nova Scotia have fewer resident natives of the United States than they had ten years ago. In an address made not many years before his death, the Earl of Beaconsfield told his hearers that immigrants were pouring into Manitoba from the northwestern States of the American Union. It is an amusing commentary upon this statement to find that in Manitoba to-day there are only 3,063 natives of this country, and that they constitute but 2 per cent. of the total population of the Province.

The rate of natural increase is doubtless greater among the French than among the English-speaking portions of the Canadian population. On the other hand, the French element, while furnishing probably more than its proportionate share of emigrants to the States, receives little or no reinforcement from immigration. In 1891 there were but 5,377 natives of France resident in Canada, as against no less than 555,648 natives of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States. It is not, therefore, surprising that the proportion of the French-speaking to the total population has slightly decreased in the Dominion, as a whole, falling from 30.1 per cent. in 1881 to 29.4 per cent. in 1891, and that this decrease has taken place in every Province except New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Quebec. It has been relatively the greatest in the new and rapidly growing western provinces. In British Columbia and Manitoba, while the English-speaking population has more than doubled during the decade, the French-speaking has remained almost stationary, and there has been an absolute decrease of that element in Ontario and the Northwest Provinces. The French Canadians are moving southward and to a less extent eastward, and hardly at all westward.

The result of the few remaining elections in England can be predicted with so much certainty as to make it safe to say that the Government will lack forty-two votes of a majority in the next Parliament, and the Ministers must therefore retire. The members will probably stand as follows: Unionist 314, and Opposition 356, but in Great Britain the Unionists are in a majority, having 292 votes to 275 opposed. It is therefore contended by the Unionists that home rule for Ireland has been rejected by those who should confer it, the Irish vote being disregarded as that of an interested party, and Ireland, moreover, being over-represented in proportion to her population. As to the popular vote, it amounts to about 2,000,000 for the Unionists and 2,200,000 opposed. But if the Irish vote were excluded, home rule would not have a majority in its favor. Moreover, owing to the fact that many Unionist seats were not contested, their vote does not represent their full strength. However this may be, the question of home rule is to be settled by Parliament, no matter how constituted, and an Irish member's vote will count for as much in making law as that of an Englishman. But these calculations indicate the policy which will probably be followed by the Unionists, namely, a resort to obstruction and dilatory proceedings, upon the plea that Parliament is not really representative, hoping that the incongruous elements of the Opposition may fall out or prove unmanageable, and so make another appeal to the country necessary. Under these circumstances everything depends upon the conduct of the Irish members, who hold the balance of power; and this being so, the unexpected is as likely to occur as anything that can be predicted before the meeting of Parliament.

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THE PULPIT ON THE HOMESTEAD RIOTS.

It was inevitable that there should be a great rush of sermons on the Homestead riots on Sunday week. As many as a score were more or less fully reported in the newspapers as delivered in this city and Boston, in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, and other cities. Doubtless hundreds were preached throughout the country. It is, in fact, an increasing tendency with clergymen to preach on "topics of the times." This, perhaps, results in part from their deepening sense of the rivalry with Sunday newspapers into which they are more and more brought. However that may be, it was certain in advance that the labor troubles at the Carnegie works, which had been so general a theme of conversation during the week before, would furnish a text for many sermons on Sunday.

As a preparation for their pulpit labors on that day, it is greatly to be wished that the preachers whose discourses we have seen had read and laid to heart an article in the *International Journal of Ethics* for July, entitled, "What should be the Attitude of the Pulpit to the Labor Problem?" Its author is a clergyman, Mr. W. L. Sheldon, and what he has to say is for the most part marked by extraordinary sobriety of judgment. In general, he urges the need of greater modesty on the part of clergymen in their deliverances on the various phases of the labor question. He admits that there is a great temptation to "speak with authority," and "with the same kind of an emphasis on practical affairs as in the sphere of pure religion." But he maintains that, if it is the fact, as he believes it is, that ministers are in danger of speaking from the pulpit as though they possessed "a superior judgment or insight," when in reality they are "speaking on matters they know nothing about," it is better to attempt an humbler rôle, lest even the people who now "listen to us with awe" will find out that the assumption of "wider knowledge" is baseless.

Mr. Sheldon would have the clergy stand on "a much more commonplace level." He would have them admit that they are but men, like other mortals, "waiting for guidance." He advises them, first of all, to make a more thorough study of the relations of labor and capital; to get the point of view of Socialists and Anarchists, as well as the standard writers; above all, to come into personal touch with both employers and wage-earners. This done, he thinks "the supreme work for the pulpit on the labor problem should be to explain and point out the symptoms, rather than to suggest the remedy or cure." An attitude of conciliation and sympathy is the proper one for the clergyman, and is as far as the average minister is qualified to go. If he sets himself to declaring what is just and what is unjust in social relations and in labor difficulties, he will not only fail to accomplish anything, but will soon find that he "has lost his influence for ever."

No such lowly and sensible conception of their true function controlled the tongues of most of those clergymen whose prompt sermons on the Homestead disturbances have been reported in the press. In the majority of cases they spoke as judges and dividers over their fellows, though it is little to say that their utterances were ill-considered, their awarding of blame or praise most crude or dangerous, and their proposed remedies vague and inconsequential. Some of them went great lengths in justifying the riotous strikers. Said the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of Boston:

> "Homestead has spoken to the country. It has thrilled the ranks of labor with new life, new courage, new manliness. Workmen have met and defeated the desperado hirelings of capital, and for their victory we need to thank God."

Dr. Louis A. Banks of the same city "pulled Carnegie over the coals with a vengeance." The Rev. Alfred Henry, "a prominent west-side pastor" of Chicago, "defended and upheld the locked-out millmen, and claimed that all men situated as they were would have done what they did." The Rev. C. H. Woolston of Philadelphia said:

> "There has grown up a body of men in this country who believe that the mills, the factories, the mines are the auction-blocks of old, by which they oppress their workmen as they did in the slavery days. One of these said recently that he did not believe in raising the wages of his men because it would give them more idle time. He has not learned that slavery is over. Let the guns that flashed at Homestead proclaim that in this country slavery is over for white and black."

As to the causes of the difficulty, there appears to have been a great diversity of opinion. The Rev. George P. Wilson of Philadelphia thought that "commercialism" was at the bottom of it, resulting in "the alienation of classes," so that "the poor come to hate the Christ of the capitalists, whom they hate." Dr. H. C. McCook of the same city said that the outrages "were the product of our American lawlessness." The Rev. H. Z. Duhring, also of Philadelphia, declared that "organized capital, as represented by the great Carnegie Company, must be held responsible for precipitating the whole trouble." But it was reserved for the Rev. Duncan MacGregor, likewise of Philadelphia, to uncover the *fons et origo* of all, which he did in the following lucid way:

> "I will tell the cause. Let it stand out clearly before the whole world. I answer, the cause is social in its nature. I answer, the dash of bullets and blood, of brooms and brushes, of wrathful women and woful sounds of curse and carnage and contagion at Homestead, was the dashing surge of a great subterranean sea—a sea wide as the civil world, a sea that chafes under all civil governments."

When we come to the question of remedies, we find equal diversity in the way of practical suggestions, and great vagueness in the religious cures brought forward. Dr. William Boyd of Newark thought that "the only solution" was for capital and labor "to realize that their relations are not antagonistic but reciprocal, and apply the golden rule." Mr. Woolston of Philadelphia was of the opinion that "the solution of all the workingmen's difficulties is in the ballot." The rhetorical Mr. MacGregor, already quoted, saw hope in the advice: "Let the iron king and the puddler stand side by side as brothers." Mr. Wilson said: "The Gospel of Christ furnishes a sufficient and the only antidote"; but if he stated what it was, the reporter did not catch it. But for the completest and most hopeless statement of the religious remedy we do not need to go beyond what was said in Homestead itself by the Rev. Mr. Thompson:

> "When the world shall turn from seeking its own selfish ends, all immoral efforts of self-aggrandizement will be things of the past. We shall then indeed have 'triumphant democracy.' When Carnegie is not king, but when Christ is the acknowledged Lord of Hosts [sensation], then the lion of capital shall lie down with the lamb of labor, and there will be no Pinkertons to destroy or harm."

It would probably be unfair to judge the pulpit as a whole by such melancholy instances. We gratefully record the fact that many clergymen were silent on the riots, and thereby did a great deal to raise the reputation of their profession for intelligence. But the extracts we have cited are enough to show that the partial knowledge and the uncertainty which clergymen display in private conversation about labor troubles, do not pass into certainty and authority as soon as they mount the pulpit stairs. There can be no doubt that, as intermediaries between employers and workingmen, ministers are in a position to do a work within the power of no other class; as social theorists they are so plainly without inspired wisdom that we think it would be far better for them to take Mr. Sheldon's advice and not speak as if they had it.

WARRING PROTECTIONISTS AT HOMESTEAD.

The Homestead episode has given rise to some moralizing on the part of the protectionist press which is sound enough, as far as it goes, but which rests upon principles of much wider application than these journals recognize. They counsel the riotous workmen that they have no right to exercise any compulsion in obtaining from their employers such remuneration for their labor as they desire, or in preventing other workmen from taking their places. They have a right to obtain as high wages as possible in a free competitive market, and to enter into combination with one another for this purpose; but this right, if it exists at all, is necessarily common to all men, and its recognition implies the condemnation of practices inconsistent with it. Trade unions are, therefore, laudable institutions in so far as they assist their members in obtaining the fair market value of their labor, but they become mischievous when they are employed in depriving capitalists of the use of their property, or

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in depriving workmen who are outside of the unions of their inalienable right to support themselves by laboring for whoever wishes to hire them. And what is right is also expedient, for the interests of workingmen are bound up with those of the community, and that community will be most prosperous in which capitalists are most encouraged to invest their money by the knowledge that they will be protected in the free use of it, and in which laborers are sure of obtaining employment without encountering any other hindrances than such as are involved in the natural adaptation of the supply of labor to the demand.

These principles, it is unnecessary to remind our readers, we have steadfastly endeavored to maintain, even at times when there seemed to be a pretty general disposition to ignore them. They need to be laid down, over and over again, line upon line and precept upon precept, for they are by no means intuitively apprehended by mankind, but have been evolved by a very long and painful experience of the evils of oppression, and every generation has to be educated up to them. In fact, their apprehension constitutes political education, and a community where they were universally accepted would find little practical difficulty in acting upon them. Simple as they are, they are but special cases under a more general principle—the principle that every human being is entitled to pursue happiness in his own way, subject only to such limitations as experience has shown to be indispensable to the maintenance of this right for all. This is the spirit which breathes in our Declaration of Independence, this is the principle which is formulated and applied in our Bills of Rights and in our Constitutions. It is the recognition of this principle that has given the institutions of our country their wonderful stability, and it is only by disregarding this principle that these institutions can be overthrown.

But with what consistency can protectionists preach such doctrines as this to the members of the trade unions? Why do they behold the mote that is in the laborer's eye and consider not the beam in their own? It is of the essence of the theory of protection that the free exchange of the products of labor should be restricted in order that those who have procured the restrictions may dispose of their products at enhanced prices. To accomplish this end, they resort to the very means which they condemn when resorted to by laborers, viz., compulsion. They endeavor to deprive those who would employ their capital in certain directions of the opportunity to use it as they choose, just as the Homestead laborers endeavor to regulate their employers' use of their own property. They endeavor to prevent laborers from selling their labor in a free market for the best price that it will bring, just as the trade-unionists endeavor to prevent non-union laborers from working at trades which the unionists wish to monopolize. For it is a natural right that a man should exchange the wealth that he has produced for other wealth that better satisfies his wants, whether that other wealth be produced in this country or elsewhere. It is also a natural right that a laborer should expend his strength in producing goods for exchange without having his remuneration lessened by tolls levied upon the materials that he employs and upon the goods that are exchanged for his products. If it is justifiable for an American manufacturer to compel the farmer who sells his wheat in Liverpool to pay a tax upon the clothing or the tools that he receives in exchange, or else to pay a higher price for the protected articles, it is justifiable for the Homestead workmen to compel their employers to pay them higher wages, or else allow their works to lie idle. If it is right for American manufacturers to force their fellow-citizens to buy their wares through the means of a protective tariff, it cannot be wrong for American laborers to force the manufacturers to buy their services by excluding fellow-laborers from the competition.

It may be urged that what the manufacturers do is done in conformity to the law of the land, while the aim of the laborers is illegal. But the objection is irrelevant, for the admonitions addressed to the Homestead workmen have not been based upon legal grounds, but upon the principles of justice and expediency which we have stated above. All that we contend is, that these principles cannot be invoked by protectionists in condemnation of the course of the Homestead workmen without condemning themselves. And it must be added that in procuring the sanction of the law for the compulsory payments which they have exacted from the country, the protected manufacturers are believed by nearly if not quite a majority of its inhabitants not only to have abused the powers of government, but also to have put themselves in position to do so by the expenditure of money. It is not from devotion to the cause of good government that the Senate has come to be filled with men of great wealth representing the protected interests, and we should perhaps not now be living under the McKinley tariff had not Mr. Wanamaker obtained from these interests the $400,000 which he put in Mr. Quay's hands a few days before the last Presidential election.

There remains but one argument to which protectionists can resort. They say, and doubtless many of them sincerely believe, that the increased profits which they obtain by taxing their fellow-citizens are expended so as to promote the general welfare. The conclusive reply to this is, that the same would be true of the increased wages which trade-unions may secure by compelling their employers to pay them higher wages than non-union laborers are willing to work for. Every consideration which is appealed to by manufacturers can be appealed to with equal force by their employees. It would only be necessary for these employees to secure legislation compelling employers to hire only union laborers, in order to put them upon exactly the same footing as protected manufacturers. If law makes right, they would then occupy a position equally defensible morally. Such legislation has been adopted by the London County Council, so far as lay in its power, and recently came near passing the national assembly of France. It is most earnestly to be desired by those who have the future welfare of this country at heart that such a policy as this may never be adopted here. But if we are to escape it, with all the corruption and oppression and ruin that will attend it, the policy of protection to favored manufacturers must be definitely repudiated, for the two policies are identical in principle. The public conscience has been so long debauched by protectionist excesses that it is not easily aroused; but it would be an evil omen were the riot and bloodshed at Homestead not to awaken thoughtful men to the dangers of tolerating longer the perversion of the Government, which is maintained by all, to the pecuniary support of favored classes.

AN OBJECT-LESSON IN CURRENCY-EXPANSION.

THE Treasury bulletin, showing the amount and distribution of the country's money supply at the opening of the current month, gives data for an interesting chapter of financial history. Comparison will naturally be made with the statement of the same date in 1891; for the intervening period is the Government's fiscal year, and it is the events of that period with which the Treasury officers must presently deal in making account of their stewardship.

What will first attract attention in the comparison of results is the remarkable expansion in the circulating medium. Excluding the funds held in the Treasury, the money in use in the United States has increased during the year no less than $105,632,631. This increase has been paralleled but three times in our financial history, and on each of these occasions the increase was directly traceable to the great civil convulsion of the sixties. In the fiscal year 1863, the currency expansion of nearly $261,000,000 was due wholly to the new issues of State bank notes and of Government legal tenders, the bill authorizing which was enacted immediately before the fiscal year began. In the other two years referred to, 1880 and 1881, the resumption of specie payments, followed by the conversion and heavy redemption of the old war loans, turned enormous amounts of gold out of the Treasury and into general circulation.

No convulsion, civil or other, preceded the latest movement for currency expansion. It was the result of an experiment made under no pressure of necessity, and solely in deference to an extrava

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gant financial theory. It has been already observed that the increase of 1863 consisted of greenbacks, and that of 1880 and 1881 of gold. Of last year's increase in the circulating medium, over $57,000,000 was in Treasury notes based upon purchased silver bullion, $19,500,000 in silver certificates, $4,000,000 in fractional silver coin (which this Administration has used with unprecedented eagerness to pay its bills), and the rest—thanks to the accident of a rich harvest and large imports of specie during the winter—in gold. How much of a figure the gold will cut in next year's returns, if Secretary Foster is driven to the last resort of selling bonds in order to keep good his specie reserve, may readily be imagined.

There is nothing novel in the general facts thus pointed out. To the silver-coinage fanatic they are undoubtedly gratifying in themselves; for certainly we have here the "increase in money"—particularly silver money—of which there has been so much eager talk. The country's money circulation per capita, which for a decade had averaged $22.50, the supply keeping remarkably even pace with the increase in population, rose abruptly in 1891 to $23.41, and in 1892 to $24.47, and here, no doubt, the free-coinage agitator will find food for especially agreeable reflections. We cordially recommend his use of these statistics in the manufacturing districts and among the cotton-growers of the South. An application of his favorite theory to these very figures, whereby he might demonstrate that each of his hearers is by virtue of statistics 9 per cent. richer than he was in 1889, would be a practical and altogether commendable means of bringing his opponents to book. The South, through its Representatives in Congress, has been and is still pleading persistently for currency expansion, with a vague notion that if there could only be "more money to go around," the Southerner would be sure to capture a share of it. Well, here is the currency already expanded, and yet the petitioner is complaining that he has been losing money ever since 1890. If an increase of a hundred millions in the country's circulation has been attended on his part by increasing poverty, what is he to expect from further expansion?

When the farmer can rid himself of the pestiferous notion that he is bound to get his share in the new money, on a basis of numerical proportion, whether he has anything to exchange for it or not, the "silver problem" will be near its solution. The cotton-grower's stock of money steadily decreased while the Government's stock of manufactured money was as steadily increasing; and the reason was perfectly plain. The cotton markets were over-supplied, and nobody needed the planter's product badly enough to pay the planter's price for it. If the money in circulation to-day were twenty-six hundred millions instead of sixteen hundred millions, the situation would be exactly the same. The silver-miner sells his bullion to the broker, and the broker sells it to the Government, and the Government pays him in "expanded currency." Somebody makes a handsome profit out of the operation, but it is not the farmer, nor the merchant, nor the salaried employee, nor even the Government. The man who gets money which he would not otherwise have had, is the man for whose product the Government has created an artificial market. The place where the money finally reposes, at the present time, is most likely to be the great city banks, which already, in the dull business year, have more deposits than they know what to do with.

A much more profitable field of investigation for the unfortunate cotton-planter would be the conditions which regulate his along with other trades. If he would but heed the signs of the times, he might discover that violent fluctuations in the circulating medium, such as he and his representatives have been forcing upon the country, destroy confidence, paralyze industry, and bring down their first and heaviest load of calamity upon the heads of the very people in whose name the experiment was demanded.

COEDUCATION IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

THE question of the higher education of women in Germany seems about to enter upon a new stage. The Government, a few months ago, required each university to express its opinion upon the expediency of admitting women to lectures; and several, notably Göttingen, have declared themselves in favor of doing so. Prof. Herman Grimm has undertaken to speak for the University of Berlin, and he publishes his conclusions in an article in the Berlin *National-Zeitung*, which is a model of dispassionate reasoning, and is sure to attract wide attention.

He summarizes at the outset the prevailing objections to coeducation in general, which are nowhere urged more strongly than in Germany. In the first place, there is an impression that women are, from their very nature, incapable of acquiring the thorough knowledge which is expected of every boy as a matter of course.

"I myself," says Prof. Grimm, "shared this opinion without being able to account for it. Our very women believe it to be true. In other countries people think differently. In England and America there exists a mass of biographical literature bearing on the careers of men and women. There coeducation of young men and women is considered as something the expediency of which need not be demonstrated."

The German girl, it is true, is much less self-reliant than her American and English sister, but is not this very difference the result of different educational methods? A German girl is hardly ever educated with a view to her being obliged to support herself, and yet not only to the women themselves and their relatives, but to the State, is it of vital interest to educate them so as to make them self-reliant and, if necessary, self-supporting. Practically, only two avenues are open to women desiring a higher education, namely, the practice of medicine and the profession of a teacher. The need of female physicians has been so clearly demonstrated as to open for them the doors of some European universities. Can the State afford to do less for those who wish to become competent teachers?

The objections urged against the admission of women to the lectures in the philosophical faculty are twofold. There is the still lingering fear that the young men may be affected unfavorably by the presence of the women—a fear dispelled by the experience of the United States and England; and there is the belief that the supposed intellectual difference in the two sexes, or, at all events, the difference in their receptivity, would make it difficult for the teacher to adhere to one standard in addressing a mixed audience. Prof. Grimm seems disposed to accord full weight to the latter objection. A lecturer, in order to be in full *rapport* with his hearers, must address a homogeneous audience. Speaking for himself, Prof. Grimm says, he might perhaps object to the admission of women because he found it difficult to depart from his established custom in addressing young men only; and if he admitted women at all he would tell them frankly in advance that their presence would be ignored. But while, apparently, an adherent of the theory which assigns to men and women different reasoning powers, he is very far from conceding that a woman's intuitive perception can in any way be impaired by severe application to studies.

"Such an assumption," he says, "is not borne out by a single example. To restrain women on such grounds from the study of literature and art, or to lower the standard of these studies, either in form or in substance, in the case of female students, is entirely out of the question. If there is a public demand for female teachers of literature and the history of art, it would be wrong not to offer aspirants for such positions the most thorough public instruction, suitable alike to men and women. If I continue to lecture in my old way and ignore my few female listeners, it may well be hoped that my successor will be better fitted for his task. Surely, no such differences are recognized in the study of mathematics and physics."

Prof. Grimm is too great an admirer of the German universities, "perhaps the only corporate bodies whose right of self-government seems incontestable," and too jealous a guardian of the rights of the German student, to favor an enforced change to coeducation. It may be that the State will ultimately find it expedient to establish separate institutions for the instruction of women; but until that is done, it certainly seems judicious to ask the existing ones to open their doors, wherever possible, to well-qualified female applicants. "To compel university professors," he says, "to admit women, seems inconceivable, but it would seem to be equally impossible to enforce ancient restrictions concerning the admission of women, or to prevent professors from exercising their discretion in the

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light of existing conditions." He illustrates his own practice in this respect as follows:

"Some time ago there called upon me an American lady, the daughter of German parents, who, as she said, had received leave of absence from her husband for the purpose of studying in Germany the history of art. She and her husband were amateur photographers, and she had thus imbibed an interest in the subject, and intended to deliver lectures on the history of art in the city where she resided and where much interest was taken in the subject. In fact, she had done so already, but she felt, in spite of a fair acquaintance with the general literature of the subject, that her lectures were a more or less mechanical reproduction of her own reading, and that it would be necessary for her to study in Europe. She had visited England, France, and Italy, and wanted now to finish her studies in Germany. She was free to confess that wherever in this country she had so far applied for instruction, she had been unable to impress the instructors with the seriousness of her aims, and she therefore requested me earnestly to give her permission to attend my lectures.

"I was most favorably impressed with the evident truthfulness of this lady, who was accompanied by her daughter, a charming girl of thirteen. Nevertheless, I could not grant her request, but I induced one of my colleagues, Prof. Frey, to give her once a week instruction in the literature of art history, which enabled her to prosecute her studies at home. Prof. Frey was highly pleased with the diligence of his pupil, who at the end of the semester returned to America to utilize her newly acquired knowledge in procuring a library devoted to art history for her native town.

"About the same time there called on me another American lady, a teacher, who also wished to attend my lectures, particularly those on German literature. She spoke as intelligently and with as much knowledge of her subject as did the other lady, and I recommended her also to a colleague of mine, who instructed her and was very well satisfied with her progress. A few days ago she again called on me, and once more asked for permission to attend my lectures. I granted the request, but I do not consider that I have established a binding precedent, and shall reserve the right of saying yes or no in each individual case."

Prof. Grimm forcibly contrasts the rather humiliating position which German women bent on intellectual pursuits occupy in their country, with the greater freedom enjoyed by women of equal intelligence elsewhere. He says that not a few literary women of his acquaintance —not writers of fiction, but scientific workers in the best sense of the word— are positively embarrassed by their position, and "fairly apologize for having done such good work." He points to the United States and England, where women have long since taken their recognized place in science, and are able to hold their own in conversation with men of eminence with a confidence born of equal opportunities and equal rights. "A German woman interested in the intellectual problems of the day involuntarily shrinks from discussing them with men, because of the depressing consciousness of her defective training." This feeling of inferiority reacts, in turn, on the men, whose domestic life suffers from the lack of common intellectual interests between them and their wives. The evil is augmented by the excessive devotion to music on the part of the women, which crowds out more profitable employments and leads to "intellectual ossification."

The old prejudice which sees in the pursuit of knowledge by woman a departure from her place in nature Prof. Grimm does not consider worthy of discussion. Women have at all times been compelled to devote their attention to business matters, and it has never been asserted that they neglected on that account their duties as wives and mothers. Is it, then, to be assumed that they will be less dutiful if devoted to science and art? Prof. Grimm lays particular stress on the important position won by women within recent years in the realm of art, owing entirely to the more adequate instruction now within their reach. He speaks with all the authority of one who is generally considered the foremost art critic in Germany when he says:

"I well remember the general status of female portrait-painting thirty years ago. A picture by a woman at once proclaimed the insufficiency of her instruction. Artists like Angelica Kauffmann and Mme. Lebrun were exceptions belonging to a remote past, whose recurrence was not to be looked for. The first artist whose work was like a man's was Rosa Bonheur. But he who traverses the Berlin art exhibitions of to-day will have to admit that perhaps the majority of all good portraits are the work of women. It is true, many of these portraits have no high artistic merit, but neither have the portraits painted by men. Formerly a portrait painted by a woman betrayed a certain want of clearness, a lack of correct modelling, as well as a vagueness of outline. These defects are still found in some; in others they have entirely disappeared, and the reason of this lies entirely in the changed instruction."

Prof. Grimm, it will be seen from this brief summary of his exhaustive essay, cannot be called an enthusiastic advocate of coeducation, but he takes a scholarly, patriotic, and humane interest in everything pertaining to the intellectual advancement of women in Germany. "Men have no right," he says, "to prohibit women from making use of public institutions where they believe they can acquire the knowledge they need; for there exists to-day a universal disinclination to be unjust." This sentiment ought to lie at the root of all discussion of the subject, and deserves to be pondered in other countries besides Germany.

TERCENTENARY OF DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.

DUBLIN, July 9, 1892.

IT is a commonplace to say that seats of learning are among the most enduring of human institutions. It will be readily admitted that any great educational institution which, like Trinity College, Dublin, has lasted, with a growing fame, for 300 years, is amply entitled to celebrate its tercentenary with appropriate honors. In the Memorial Ode which was sung at the commemoration of its first centennial anniversary, Nahum Tate, the poet-laureate of the occasion, was fain to predict for his Alma Mater, even at that day, a splendid future which

> "Should Liffey make as proud a name
> As that of Isis and of Cam";

and though this pious augury of the College bard may not as yet have been fully realized, yet it is none the less true that Trinity College, while sedulously preserving its distinctive place in the university culture of the United Kingdom, has moved steadily forward in the widening range of its studies, in the multiplication of its schools, in the increasing fame of its graduates, and in the growing number of its students.

Founded by Queen Elizabeth as a bulwark and defence of Protestantism in a land faithful to the "Old Church," and endowed with many munificent gifts by her successors and by the other patrons of learning whose names are publicly recited in Trinity Chapel on the afternoon of every first Trinity Sunday in the Church year, the College is rich to-day in its annual revenues, in its commodious halls, in its famous library, in its well-equipped astronomical observatory, and in the emoluments of its fellowships. Almost all the buildings which give it an architectural dignity are said to date from the eighteenth century. In a sumptuous memorial volume, entitled 'The Book of Trinity College, Dublin,' a copy of which has been courteously presented by the Provost and Senior Fellows to all the delegates from sister institutions in attendance at the tercentenary celebration, it is stated that during the eighteenth century "a new conception of what the country owed to the University and the University promised to fulfil, entered into men's minds. Grants of hundreds now became grants of thousands; salaries were no longer pittances but prizes; the Fellows of the College became dignitaries not only on account of their position but their wealth; and the much-tried and long-struggling College at length attained security, respect, and influence throughout the country." The curriculum of the College, from being fixed by what is known as the "statutes of Laud," and from being conducted in a purely catechetical way by oral exercises, was gradually released from its theological tether and from its cast-iron moulds, and was broadened in its scope, while being at the same time liberalized in its methods of instruction.

The earlier part of the present century marks, it is true, a period of decadence, or rather of suspended vitality, in the history of Trinity College. It was during this period that, in the dearth of her culture, she was dubbed "the Silent Sister"—a name which still clings to her in the "jocosities" of academic banter, though she has long since lived down the reproach. Certainly we cannot say that any sister in the academic family deserves to be called tongue-tied who has been the nursing mother of sons so numerous, whose words have gone out to the ends of the world. The names of but a few can be recited here. James Ussher, the learned Archbishop of Armagh, whose Old Testament Chronology still survives in some editions of the King James Bible; Henry Dodwell, the prolific writer of his day; Farquhar and Congreve, playwrights whose dramas are still read by students of English letters; Thomas Parnell, known to all by his "Hermit" and his "Hymn to Contentment"; Toplady, whose "Rock of Ages" is sung in the churches of universal Christendom; Charles Wolfe, whose lyric on the "Burial of Sir John Moore" has made the tour of the world; Thomas Moore, whose Anacreontics and "Lalla Rookh" have delighted so many men and maidens in the salad days of their youth; Sir Philip Francis, reputed by many besides Lord Macaulay as the author of the Junius Letters; the good Bishop Berkeley, whom Alexander Pope, no lavish eulogist, has praised as being adorned with "every virtue under heaven"; Bishop Magee, the redoubtable champion in his time, of the Trinitarian theology; Richard Brinsley Sheridan, orator, wit, and dramatist; the pure-hearted Lord Falkland, who fell on

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an early battle-field of the Great Rebellion, "ingeminating 'Peace, peace,'" as Clarendon phrases it; orators like Plunket and Curran and Grattan; barristers and jurists like Barry Yelverton or Sir Jonah Barrington; critics of philosophy like William Archer Butler; mathematicians like Sir William Rowan Hamilton, the inventor of the Method of Quaternions, who finds, in a different branch of mathematics, a worthy successor in the present Provost of Trinity College, Dr. Salmon; novelists like Charles Lever, whose description of college life in 'Charles O'Malley' is dear to all the sons of Trinity—these and such as these shine as stars in the crown of Dublin University.

But perhaps the three greatest names which Trinity College carries on the roll of her graduates must be sought in Oliver Goldsmith, Dean Swift, and Edmund Burke. It has been said of the University of Leyden that it would have abundantly vindicated its right to be if it had produced no other alumnus than Hugo Grotius, the founder of International Law. Certainly as much may be said of the University (Dublin University and Trinity College, it need not be said, are convertible terms) which has produced an Oliver Goldsmith, whose 'Vicar of Wakefield' still maintains its classic place even in this novel-reading age, which trained the genius of a Dean Swift, in whom the melancholia of a cynic, the mocking wisdom of an Irish Democritus, and the heart of a statesman were concealed beneath the surplice of a priest, and which gave to the world an Edmund Burke, in whose writings, as Coleridge thought, the germs of all political philosophy may be found for the instruction and reproof of this living age.

We are reminded by the compilers of 'The Book of Trinity College' that Oxford has been called "The University of great movements, Cambridge, the University of great men." We are reminded, too, that Oxford has been called "the home of lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and impossible loyalties." But for the Irish sister of these renowned seats of learning it is claimed that she has had a far different career from that of either, not only because she is younger in years, but because she has a type of culture essentially her own. The Irish College, it is frankly conceded, does not lie, like the Oxford "Queen of Romance, steeped in sentiment and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages." It is admitted, even by the most loyal of her devotees, that to sentiment Trinity is a stranger. She lives in a workaday world, because she lies at the heart of a metropolis, and no one, says the writer from whom we are quoting, "who knows her history or who has breathed her keen, disillusionizing air, would conceive as possible the fostering of an intellectualism such as that of Newman under the shadow of her Greek porticos." And, it is added, "when we call to mind her position in the heart of a country misunderstood and misgoverned for centuries, we cannot but marvel that she has so serenely kept the *via media* between political, philosophical, and social extremes. At once less conservative and less radical than her sisters, a dry intellectual light has been her guide."

Such, in brief, is the venerable seat of learning which has summoned the literary and scientific world to bring to her the homage of its congratulation on the occasion of her tercentenary commemoration. And representatives of the learned world have come at her bidding from all the continents—from Africa, Australia, India, New Zealand, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Germany, Holland, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, the United States of America; and of course from England, Scotland, and Wales in still larger delegations. And the preparation which the Trinity authorities made for the entertainment and amusement of their invited guests was indeed most profuse and elaborate. From Tuesday, the 5th of July, to the close of the week, the streets of Dublin have been filled with all the pomp and pageantry of an academic festivity. Religious ceremonies, musical fêtes, garden parties, banquets, games, conferring of honorary degrees, presentation of addresses of congratulation, etc., have followed each other in quick succession.

First in the order of exercises was the formal presentation to the Provost of all the delegates who had been commissioned by learned bodies, by universities, and by colleges to bring their congratulations—each delegate being introduced by his full name, with his titles and the institution he represented. Then followed a procession of all the delegates, with their Trinity College cortège, from the College to St. Patrick's Cathedral; each delegate, with few exceptions, being arrayed in academic costume, and the whole procession marching by a route about a mile long between serried masses of observers on the sidewalks. At St. Patrick's, the "Commemoration Service" was celebrated with appropriate religious ceremonies—with processional hymns, prayers, anthems, and a sermon. The latter was delivered by the Very Rev. Henry Jellett, D.D., the Dean of St. Patrick's. The discourse was in the main a retrospect of Trinity's history—the shadows of her past being used to heighten the lights of the present; but the speaker ventured a single touch of pathos when, adverting regretfully to the pending breach between modern culture and Christianity, he wondered whether the four hundredth anniversary of the University would be celebrated in a purely secular spirit. Appropriate allusion was made to the fact that Trinity College, in commemorating her tercentenary, was also called to commemorate the centennial anniversary of that liberalizing change which, just a hundred years ago, had made her degrees accessible to Roman Catholics and Nonconformists on an equality with adherents to the Established Church. One touch of politics there was in the sermon. Dean Jellett remarked that with all the misrule to which Ireland had been subjected, no British Minister had yet dared to lay his hand on the franchises of Trinity College.

The Tercentenary Ode was written by "The Irish Poet-Laureate," Mr. G. F. Savage-Armstrong, and was set to music by Sir Robert Stewart. It was rendered before a brilliant auditory in Leinster Hall on the night of Tuesday, the 5th of July. A cricket match in the College Park—a Cambridge eleven against Dublin University—and a garden party in the Fellows' Garden, had occupied the afternoon.

At noon on Wednesday, the 6th of July, the academic conclave assembled in the Examination Hall to witness the conferring of honorary degrees. The University had been liberal in the dispensation of these honors, though it was difficult in some cases to perceive the theory on which they had been distributed. Five Americans were decorated on the occasion—Gen. Francis A. Walker receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws, Prof. Simon Newcomb the degree of Doctor of Sciences, Dr. John L. Billings the degree of Doctor of Medicine, Prof. Isaac Hollister Hall and Prof. Joseph Henry Thayer the degree of Doctor of Letters. The University showed its liberality to the New Theology by conferring honorary degrees on the Rev. Samuel Rolles Driver and on Prof. Robertson Smith, while culture was seen to be broader than creed when an eminent Unitarian like James Martineau was selected for decoration on this signal occasion. The investiture of Henry Irving with *his* degree was made the occasion of a demonstration by the undergraduates, who, after the ceremonial was ended, bore him aloft across the campus in a chair, amid an acclaim of loud huzzas, and then exacted from him the tribute of a speech.

A garden party at the Viceregal Lodge, given by the Lord Lieutenant and Lady Zetland, and a continuation of the cricket match between Trinity and Cambridge, filled up the afternoon. In the evening came the grand tercentenary banquet given by the authorities to the delegates assembled from all parts of the learned world. Like everything else provided for the occasion, the feast was sumptuous in all its appointments, and if the post-prandial speaking did not, in all cases, reach high-water mark in that difficult walk of eloquence, it was above the English average. The speeches of the Right Hon. David Plunket and of Prof. Lannelongue of Paris (in French) may be signalized for special commendation. The speech of Mr. Lecky, the historian, though good, was heard only indistinctly by the vast auditory of *convives*, about 600 in number.

But Thursday, the 7th of July, was the great if not the last day of this university feast. This was indeed the day for which all the other days of the festivity were made—the day on which the addresses of congratulation from the universities and learned bodies here represented were formally handed in to the Chancellor, the Earl of Rosse. The procession of delegates charged with these letters of felicitation was formed on the College campus at eleven o'clock in the morning, and moved through the streets, in all the many hued bravery of academic costume, to the Leinster Hall. After an address from the Provost, the representative of each college, university, and learned institution was formally called up to lay his address of congratulation on the table behind which the Chancellor was seated, who, after receiving the address, gave to each delegate a hearty handshake. The delegations were first called out according to their respective nationalities, and an address on behalf of each nationality was made by a spokesman selected for this purpose. President Gilman spoke for the American delegation, and of course spoke well. Most of these addresses were made in English. Prof. Richet of France, Prof. Gaudenzi of Italy, and Prof. Kollmann of Switzerland, however, spoke in their vernacular, but with a distinctness of articulation which rendered their speeches perfectly intelligible. Vámbéry spoke for Hungary, and spoke with an oratorical *verve* which kindled the enthusiasm of his auditors, both on the floor and in the galleries. For it should be said that the galleries were filled with ladies, who "rained influence" down on the gowned scholars as they marched one by one to the Chancellor's chair; while in the rear a throng of Trinity's lively undergraduates kept up, ever and anon, the merry jest and gibe (in which the undergraduate soul is wont to delight), as if to show that Trinity is not a "Silent Sister," in the person at least of the "babes and sucklings" whom she is now rearing for the battles of life. But not a word was said to mar the dignity of the ceremonial.

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In the afternoon of the 7th a garden party was given by the Commander of the Forces and Lady Wolseley at their Kilmainham Mansion, so noted for its hospitality. Here, as at the other garden parties, the delegates received that same cordial greeting which, during the whole of this festival, has so beautifully blended social courtesy with academic formality. On the evening of the 7th the undergraduates gave a play, in one act, illustrative of college life. The play was full of crisp and pungent points, and was evidently intended, as one of the local journals phrases it, to show that college life at Trinity is not altogether "a dull, staid, and plodding business," but allows "scope for mental resource, and felicity of conception and expression which, in one direction or another, maintains the repute of Trinity as the fount of many varieties of skilful and noble literary achievement."

On Friday, the 8th of July, addresses were made to the Trinity students in the Examination Hall, by certain of the University's guests, and the whole series of pageants and revels was closed in the evening by a grand University ball in Leinster Hall. All things must have an end, and so the tercentenary celebration of Trinity College, Dublin, came to an end where a thousand hearts were beating happily under the inspiration of Terpsichore—the Muse who is sure to have her "innings" after the College Dons have had their day in court. J. C. W.

JANET'S FÉNELON.

PARIS, July 6, 1892.

I OPENED with interest a little volume by M. Paul Janet on Fénelon—a volume in Hachette's new series, "Les Grands Écrivains Français." Not that there is much to learn about Fénelon, his dispute with Bossuet, his relations with the Duc de Bourgogne, with Mme. de Maintenon. Still, though the facts are well known, Fénelon's character is very complex, and there remains in some parts a sort of mystery hanging over him. His relations with Mme. Guyon are particularly interesting, and M. Paul Janet has entered into many details on this point. He is himself a philosopher and a professor of philosophy, and he can treat with competence the theological questions which for a moment divided Bossuet and Fénelon.

We are all familiar with Fénelon's portrait. He has been well described by Saint-Simon; but whom did Saint-Simon not describe well?

"This prelate was a great thin man, well made, with a high nose, with eyes out of which fire and soul came forth like a torrent, and a physiognomy of which I have never seen the like, and which could not be forgotten, once it had been seen. It united all the contraries, and they were not at war with each other. It had gravity and *galanterie*, seriousness and gayety; it savored equally of the doctor, the bishop, and the *grand seigneur*. What emerged from it and from his whole person was thought, wit, grace, decency, and especially nobility. It required an effort to cease to look at him."

Fénelon was born at the Château de Fénelon in Périgord, August 6, 1651. He was of an old family, the Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon. By the advice of his uncle, the Marquis of Fénelon, he entered the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. After he had ended his theological studies the Archbishop of Paris placed him at the head of a new congregation, the "New Catholics," composed of ladies recently converted from Protestantism, who were to be well maintained in their new faith. The task was an easy one for Fénelon, who was a born director of consciences. He was soon afterwards sent as a missionary to Saintonge and to Poitou, where the Protestants were to be converted, and he found himself thus for a moment mixed up with the great affair of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We have some letters of his, written from Poitou; they bear no trace of any indignation at the revocation, of any protest against the means employed by the intendants; they show, however, a preference for persuasive means, a natural aversion to violence, "which would have for its effect innumerable sacrileges."

Fénelon's first work of importance was the book 'De l'Éducation des Filles.' It is still read with pleasure. Fénelon was more liberal than his time in the matter of the education of women, but he is so far behind our time that we need not speak much of his plans and methods. The book is more interesting to us as an indication of the great drawing which Fénelon felt towards the other sex; the way in which he speaks of women betrays a certain sort of tenderness, of delicacy, of softness, which afterwards took other expression when he came in contact with interesting women. Fénelon, as is well known, undertook the education of the Duc de Bourgogne; he turned a violent, haughty, irritable, overbearing young prince into the mildest, most docile and obedient of men. But may it not be said that he feminized him too much—more than he himself wanted at first?

The two women who had a paramount influence over Fénelon were Mme. Guyon and Mme. de Maintenon. M. Janet speaks at length of Mme. Guyon, and we are grateful to him, for the history of her relations with Fénelon is one of the most curious chapters of the intellectual and religious life of the seventeenth century in France. Who was this Mme. Guyon who made so much noise in her time? She was born at Montargis in 1640. Her education was neglected, her health was deplorable. She belonged to a good family, the La Mothe, but was married at the age of fifteen to an old and gouty man, Guyon, brutal, violent, ill-mannered. She married him two days after having seen him for the first time. She was unhappy, and threw herself for consolation into piety. She was of an hysterical disposition, and her piety was of a peculiar sort. She mortified her flesh and fell into curious trances. Bossuet, in his 'Report on Quietism,' copied some passages of Mme. Guyon's autobiography, confided to him in manuscript. We read in these extracts that she "felt like a nurse bursting with milk, like a basin of water that overflowed." These are not mere metaphors. "It was," says Bossuet, "in one of these accesses of fulness that once the Duchesse de Béthune had to help her undress, as her stays had broken open on two sides." I do not know how doctors would now explain these hysterical trances. Mme. Guyon had periods of great religious effervescence, followed by periods of dryness. She fell in with Father Lacombe and introduced him into mystical life. She goes to Geneva, and enters the convent of the "New Catholics," but stays not long. She wanders to Turin, Grenoble, Marseilles, Alexandria, Genoa, Vercelli. She returns to Paris; Father Lacombe is sent to the Bastille and she herself is shut up in a convent. By the intercession of Mme. de Miramion and of Mme. de Maintenon, who was a friend of Mme. de Miramion, she is delivered from captivity after six months. At the Duchesse de Béthune's she meets Fénelon and returns alone with him from the country to Paris. "He saw her," says Saint-Simon; "their two minds suited each other."

Fénelon introduced Mme. Guyon into the chosen circle of the Beauvilliers and Chevreuses, of Mme. de Maintenon. She read to them her book, the 'Moyen court et très facile de faire oraison.' This book was an event. What is the definition of *oraison*? It is not a prayer, it is a state of prayer, it is "an act of love," an act "of the heart," a mystical state. Let us dismiss all vocal prayers, the Lord's Prayer and others; let us feel our heart burning gently; let us abandon our individuality, give ourselves away to God, repose in Him. "Outward virtue is nothing"; the true state of *oraison* is a passive state. Imagine such ideas expressed in fine language, by a fascinating woman, in a circle of refined persons. Mme. Guyon made proselytes. It is needless to show the dangers of a doctrine which, in a religious garb, is the abolition of human liberty. The doctrine bore, in the theological world, the name of quietism; it had a few years before been formulated coarsely by the Spanish monk Molinos. Quietism was a perpetual state of love; in this state all reflection was to cease; the soul ought to become indifferent to everything—even to perpetual salvation; all external acts became useless; the quietist must abandon his free-will to God, and consequently need not resist temptation. The acts of the corporeal and sensitive part of man become strangers to the spiritual part, and the body may become the instrument of the devil while the soul is irresponsible.

The consequences of this doctrine need not be dwelt upon. Mme. Guyon's quietism did not take such a decided turn; it surrounded itself with more precautions, it was a pure mysticism; but, in reality, it ended in the abolition of human liberty. Fénelon fell under the charm of Mme. Guyon. At the bottom of the theological quarrel which arose between him and Bossuet was the old question of grace. The Church felt perplexed: it could not adopt quietism in any form; it could not condemn the mystics who had added so much to its own glory. Bossuet represented the hard common sense, the severe doctrine, which requires works; Fénelon represented unconsciously the doctrine of justification by faith. In a letter written by Fénelon to Mme. de Maintenon he says, speaking of Mme. Guyon: "I have seen her often, I have esteemed her; I have allowed illustrious persons to esteem her who had confidence in her." Fénelon refused to recognize in Mme. Guyon the principles of Molinos; it is clear, however, that Mme. Guyon's new mysticism led to quietism. We cannot be much surprised that Bossuet attacked her doctrine. I will not give even a short account of a theological war which would now be well forgotten if it were not for the famous names of Bossuet and Fénelon. Who reads now the 'Maximes des Saints,' the 'État d'Oraison'?

Rome hesitated. The question had been brought before the Pope, and the Pope was embarrassed between the two prelates who were the glory of the French Church. Fénelon's work was, however, censured in the end; he submitted with the greatest humility and wrote to the Pope: "I shall never be ashamed of being corrected by the successor of Saint Peter. I will never use the shadow of the lightest distinction in order to evade the decree." And what became of Mme. Guyon? She had been an oracle for some time, even at Saint-Cyr, where she had a cousin, Mlle. de la Maisonfort, another enthusiast, who had played the part of *Élise* in Racine's tragedy of "Esther." The whole house had become

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ist; there was no other talk but of pure love, of holy indifference; instead of doing their tasks, the sisters read the works of Mme. Guyon, the 'Moyen court,' the 'Cantique des Cantiques,' the 'Torrents.' The crisis came. Godet, the Bishop of Chartres, saw the danger; he turned Mme. Guyon out of Saint-Cyr. Mme. de Maintenon liked Fénelon, but she was afraid of the King, and Louis XIV. had very practical views and disliked the dreams of quietism. When Fénelon was made Archbishop of Cambrai, Mme. de Maintenon ceased to see him; he disappeared from her life. After his condemnation, Fénelon ceased to see Mme. Guyon; she had continued to dogmatize in Paris after her expulsion from Saint-Cyr. She was put in the hands of Bossuet, in order that he might thoroughly examine her. Bossuet tried to make her change her sentiments, but he tried in vain; however, tired of being a sort of prisoner, she signed a retractation, and thus became free again. No sooner had she recovered her liberty than she began to hold secret meetings and to preach her doctrine. She was again shut up. From Vincennes she was sent to the Bastille. She went through several inquisitions, and she answered all the questions put to her with much reserve and cleverness. By the influence of the Cardinal of Noailles she was again set free, obtained permission to retire to Touraine, and was soon forgotten. "She had lived," says Saint-Simon, "discreetly and obscurely, without making any noise. For eight or ten years she had obtained permission to live in Blois, where she died without any singularity, very devout always, very retired, and often partaking of the sacraments. She had survived her most illustrious protectors and her most intimate friends."

Mme. Guyon will always remain a problematical character. I have dwelt at some length on her, as the chapter, incomplete as it is, which M. Janet devotes to Mme. Guyon's relations with Fénelon, is by far the most original in the volume which he has written on the famous Archbishop of Cambrai. On the whole, M. Janet shows a just sympathy for Fénelon, who in our day has generally been bitterly attacked and sacrificed to Bossuet. Fénelon had what the French call "une belle âme"; he was very human, very ambitious; he considered himself a possible Richelieu or Mazarin; he thought himself fit to govern France. He was disappointed in his ambition, but he bore his fate with much dignity, and he commanded the respect of his enemies.

Correspondence.

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the editorial entitled "Four Thousand Immortals," in your issue of July 7, you say that "international courtesy and the interests of science impel us to furnish the information which Mr. Labouchere desires." Will you kindly advise one who is desirous of resting upon the best authority only, how long it has been since the American people appointed you the custodian of their courtesy in international affairs and the final arbiter in things scientific? I am impelled to ask this question by reason of several inaccurate and misleading statements contained in that editorial, which would seem to indicate that the repository of America's honor and scientific knowledge is not inerrant.

In the first place, the Annals of the American Academy are not, and, as far as I have been able to discover, have never been considered the organ of the University of Pennsylvania. Until recently, one of the associate editors, and, as I am informed, a guiding influence in the management of the Annals, was Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, of Bryn Mawr College and, during the past winter, Lecturer on Sociology in Columbia College.

In the second place, the Academy offers no chromos to its members, only the advantages which accrue from a well-equipped and wisely managed organization of men interested in the advancement of knowledge. In addition to the Annals, six numbers of which are issued a year, the Academy has sent to its members during the last eighteen months an interesting memoir of the late Judge Jameson, and an excellent translation in two parts of Meitzen's standard work on Statistics. These are the kind of chromos, I am persuaded, that are highly acceptable to all members.

It is inaccurate to call the Academy the "Philadelphia Academy," for a careful examination of its 'Hand-Book' shows a large membership in all parts of the Union; in fact, in all parts of the world. To call the organization the Philadelphia Academy would be conferring on that city an honor, an act of which the *Nation* would not be consciously guilty.

I must confess I am not familiar with so-called "touting methods," but, after three years of careful observation, I have failed to see anything on the part of the organization that is not honorable and straightforward.

Very truly yours,
Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

Philadelphia, July 12, 1892.

[We do not admit that any of the statements challenged by Mr. Woodruff are either inaccurate or misleading. We used the expression "Philadelphia Academy" because the official title, "American Academy," is both inaccurate and misleading. The enlistment of members in all parts of the Union does not make a society national when its government is purely local. Really national bodies, like the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, have governing councils in which the chief centres of scientific activity throughout the country are represented with approximate equality. The so-called American Academy is controlled by a council composed of residents of Philadelphia and its suburbs. The prominent publicists and economists in other parts of the Union who have accepted elections to the Academy are sidetracked in an "advisory committee."

Facts of a similar character justify us in calling the *Annals* an organ of the University of Pennsylvania. In the group of Philadelphia scholars who manage the Academy, the influence of Prof. James and his associates in the University is dominant. Prof. James, as we pointed out, organized the Academy, has been its President since its foundation, and has been editor-in-chief of the *Annals* since their first appearance. To this Mr. Woodruff replies that Prof. Giddings of Bryn Mawr College was for a time an associate editor. We were perfectly aware of this fact, but we fail to see how it affects our statement. Let us ask Mr. Woodruff whether the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, for example, would cease to be an organ of Harvard University in case a Wellesley professor were for a time taken in as associate editor? In making the statement to which Mr. Woodruff objects, we carefully defined our use of the word "organ"; we said that when "the *control* of the periodical is in the hands of the professors of a single university," the periodical is an organ of that university. We adhere to this definition and to our characterization of the *Annals:* who turns the crank, his is the organ.

We pen this last sentence with some hesitation; for Mr. Woodruff's failure to understand what we meant by "chromos" argues slow apprehension of metaphorical modes of expression. We pointed out that every subscriber to the *Annals* is *ipso facto* a "Member of the American Academy," and we indicated our belief that the rapid growth of the subscription-list was chiefly due to the attractiveness of this title. That the chromo is really prized by the recipients; that they desire to frame it, so to speak, and to hang it on the wall—of this we find homely but competent evidence in the personal-items columns of rural newspapers. We have seen more than once in such sheets the announcement that such and such a fellow-townsman "has been elected a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," with accompanying remarks showing appreciation of the honor to the town. We have no desire to dispute the intrinsic worth of the *Annals;* we concede the interesting character of the memoir of Judge Jameson and the excellence of the translation of Meitzen; but a careful examination of these publications leaves us more than doubtful of their capacity to secure 4,000 subscribers in less than three years without the chromo.

Mr. Woodruff appears to think that if our statements are true, the methods of the Academy are dishonorable. We do not think that they merit so harsh an epithet. We do not like to see a scientific body, or a body that claims to be scientific, engaged in sending notices to Tom, Dick, and Harry that they have been severally elected "Members of the American Academy" and are expected to remit five dollars to the Treasurer. We regret the degradation of a title which has served, all over the civilized world, as a recognition of special capacity and definite achievement. We are sorry to see the red ribbon of the scientific Legion of Honor in the market. But all this, we freely concede, is a matter of sentiment; and disregard of such a sentiment by those who do not share it is hardly dishonorable. Perhaps the strongest impression left upon our minds is that of very marked cleverness very much out of place. The construction of an organization which appears to be national and is really under the control of a very few persons in one place, is an admirable piece of practical politics. The seizure and sale of something of purely sentimental value which has not previous-

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ly been regarded as merchandise, is commercially a stroke of genius. But the display of such political and commercial talents by those who guard the serene heights of speculative thought, has for us the shock not merely of the unexpected, but of the incongruous.—Ed. Nation.]

NON-VOTERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Permit me to offer a suggestion as to reasons of abstention from voting. To some slight extent, perhaps, pairing-off may diminish the vote: it is easier for Democratic Tom and Republican John to agree not to vote and to spend the day at home than for each to travel to the polls. A threatening development of a third party will not allow pairing.

A more powerful cause of abstention is a certainty as to the result. Examining this subject some thirty-five years ago, I noticed that in 1848 the proportion of voters to the males over twenty-one was about the same in Massachusetts and in Arkansas. I write at a summer resort and without reference-books; I say from memory that in each State the voters were about one-half of the adult males. Contrast the States. One was Northern, the other Southern; one Eastern, the other Western; one an old community, the other recent; one dense in population, the other sparse; one manufacturing, the other agricultural; one under the town system of local government, the other having no unit less than the county; one highly intelligent, with schools, the other then very illiterate; the one a free State, the other a slave State. The notable element of resemblance is the other point of opposition, namely, one was certainly a Whig State, the other a Democratic State. Hence the Democrats of Massachusetts and the Whigs of Arkansas had like motives for indifference and inactivity; they would have motives for voting in those political units of territory only in which they might elect their local officers. The general result was certain in each State. Samuel Willard.

Harbor Springs, Mich., July 14, 1892.

THE POPE AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* of June 16, "G. K." expresses surprise that the Pope's letter to the French cardinals, bidding them accept the present republican form of government, should have called out such editorial comment as appeared in your issue of May 26. "G. K." writes: "Now, Leo has given no other instructions to the French clergy than all his predecessors have done." If there is any difference between the letter and the spirit, there is a very profound difference between what the Pope has just now done and what his predecessors did. The significance of the present Pope's new attitude is not at all in his recognition of a given *form* of government, but in his so daring alliance with modern democracy that "revolutionary" is scarcely too strong a word to apply to his action.

It is doubtful if any modern event has more significance than this bold change which the spirit of the Pope's letter implies. Leroy-Beaulieu, in his articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, expresses this by saying that we have at last "un pape des prolétaires." The only possible classification of popes has been with princes and monarchs. No one will think in future of so classifying Leo XIII. He is as distinctly setting his face toward the Demos as his predecessors turned theirs away from it. The difference between the present Pope and Pius IX. is hardly less than that between Cardinal Manning and the Church official who preceded him. When the leading Catholic economist (Prof. Jannet) wrote, three years ago, "Democracy has triumphed, and our only duty is to recognize the fact," he was severely criticised by Catholics who were fighting for the monarchy. The strain put upon the French cardinals was intense, simply because it was felt that monarchic government had received at the Pope's hand so deadly a blow. This was clearly seen by one of the subtlest of French writers (De Vogüé) as early as 1887. In 1884, a writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* could say: "At the risk of making a scandal, we predict a republican evolution within the papacy." The author finds Lamennais's hopeless prayer, "Abandonner les rois pour les peuples," wholly true of the present Pontiff. A Catholic member of the Institute has just said that the real meaning of the Pope's utterance is, "Acceptez le régime populaire et la royauté du suffrage universel; ne vous faites pas scrupule de jouer 'La Marseillaise,' ou de marquer vos maisons du R. F."

Future events must determine whether the Pope has, in all this, shown a "high degree of political wisdom," which "G. K." doubts. It seems, however, very wide of the fact to see in it merely "the old, well-known policy of the Vatican," etc.

John Graham Brooks.

Freiburg, Baden, July 1, 1892.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent "G. K." (No. 1407) has a correct, if incomplete, notion of the drift of papal policy in the relations of the Church with governments which do not recognize its authority and supremacy over all other forms of religion. To those who follow the transactions between the Pope and the French Republic from as near as we are, and step by step, it needs no demonstration that the Pope, in recommending Catholics to accept the Republic, has some ulterior object beyond that of the support of the established Government, for the sake of good government or civil tranquillity. In continual and to a certain extent confidential relations with some of the most liberal of the Roman clergy, I have abundant opportunity to form an opinion which is perhaps as clear and safe as an outsider can obtain, and I have heard from some of the most candid and right-minded of my Catholic friends their own opinion, that the dominant, not to say the sole, motive of Leo XIII., in urging with such vigor and persistence the frank and entire submission of the Catholics of France to the present republican régime, is simply the expectation that the Republic will, when the collision between France and Italy which looms in a remote, it may be, but very certain future, comes, recompense the Papacy by the restoration of Rome to the head of the Church.

I do not think that any well-informed Catholic in Rome, or who has much to do with Rome, has any doubt that this is the fact, and I have heard some of the best and most devoted friends of the Pontiff lament that he is sacrificing the influence of the Church in Italy, and risking a schism in France, for the phantom of a temporal power which has always been a mockery, for it has only changed the protection of the Papacy from one shoulder to another; the demonstration of the absolute dependence of the ecclesiastical Government on an outside military force having long ago been made *ad nauseam*. The present Ministry of the Republic may inwardly repudiate the intention sincerely, but it has never dared openly and officially to say to the Pope, "We refuse to entertain and encourage the project of restoring Rome to the rule of the Church." To do so would put an end at once to the pressure of the Pope on French Catholics to rally to the Republic, but it would put an end also to the assurance of the moral aid of the Church being given to France when the great European war comes on for which France is arming and concentrating her strength. The question is already very earnestly debated among serious Catholics who recognize that the interests of their religion are not at stake in the present dispensation in Italy, and that the attitude of the official Church is preparing an immense apostasy when the step is taken for which the Pope is preparing. A considerable element of the French Church consider that the Pope is asking them to sacrifice their profoundest political convictions to the feud with Italy and the hope of the temporal rule, in which they have no interest whatever; and in France, but much more in Italy, the division among Catholics caused by this policy is already very pronounced.

The part of the clergy which most cordially detests modern reforms, *i. e.*, the ultra-conservative Italian members of the hierarchy, and the entire body of the Jesuits, under whose influence the present Pope has been almost since he became Pope, are favorable to carrying on the war with Italy to the bitter end. The liberal element (which is not lacking) deprecates the present state of hostilities; but as no ecclesiastic dares openly revolt against the dictum of his Holiness, even when it is not a question of dogma, the opposition is silent. A friend of Cardinal Lavigerie, to whom the policy of that Eminence is familiar, said to me that the meaning of his programme was simply the conversion of Catholics into supporters of the Republic, and the legal instalment of good Catholics in the Government instead of the atheists and Freemasons who now control it —or, as he expressed it, "getting possession of the Republic, after which it is easy to make it what we like." The basis for this electoral operation is the indisputable fact that the large majority of the voters of France is with the agricultural population, almost without an exception under the absolute influence of the clergy; and if these could be united intelligently, there is no question that they would return a Chamber of Deputies ready for what the Church may demand, *i. e.*, the abolition of the military service for the clergy, the restoration of the schools and hospitals to the confraternities, and the abolition of all laws which favor Protestants and heretics politically.

Fortunately, priests make very bad politicians, and the organization which should bring this majority into power has never been formed, owing to the divisions among the French Catholics and the antagonisms of the parties, which hope each to use the Church for its own restoration to power. The extent of the wisdom of the Pope is in seeing that these divisions are irreconcilable, and that if the Church is to rule France, it must do so through the Republic, as the present rulers are doing; but he would, if practicable, gladly do so through the monarchy. Nobody doubts that a considerable number of French Royalist Catholics are satisfied that the Pope is sacrificing

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their convictions and hopes to his temporal ambitions. I have the most satisfactory proof; but they are helpless, for religion and royalty are so united with them that they cannot rebel against the only basis for the divine right of kings. If, therefore, the Republic as at present regulated should finally decline to restore to the Pope his temporal power, the chance remains that the converted Republic may; and a Catholic Republic in France, as the guardian of the rights of the Church, is even better than an absolute sovereign in the same place. These are the reasons why the Pope is republican in France.

These things are the open secrets of Rome—rarely publicly admitted, often *pro forma* denied, but never honestly disputed by any one in the ecclesiastical sphere, and, to my personal knowledge, over and over again asserted by those who have access to the best sources of information in the Vatican. I have the best reason to say that even in the College of Cardinals there is a great deal of difference of opinion as to the soundness of the policy of Leo XIII., and these differences of opinion will have a great deal to do with the election of the next Pope, and possibly with the relations of the Papacy to the French Republic; and the ecclesiastical world in this part of Europe is by no means satisfied of the Pope's worldly wisdom. Judged by the results to be looked for, without any spiritual illumination, it seems to some of us, lookers on, to be doomed to a dilemma of disaster. The alliance with France as against the Triple Alliance, "three against three," makes the Papacy sharer in the victory, but also in the defeat. Now the victory means the division of Europe between Orthodox Russia and the present form of Republic in France, the dissolution of Italy and of Germany as an Empire, the utter prostration of Catholic Austria, and the extension of Russian control and the Orthodox religion over the entire Slavonic country, including Constantinople, and eventually the Holy Land; and, as reflex consequence, the revolt of patriotic German and Italian Catholics from Rome—in short, a series of disasters to the real Church of Rome, which has no political existence and can depend on no government. The other alternative of a defeat in this European struggle means the humiliation of the Papacy, confirmation of its expulsion from Rome, the prostration of France, the Church's eldest daughter and only political protector, and, when the heat of the conflict has passed, the grave demonstration of a moral blunder and the humiliation of a defeat due to want even of common worldly wisdom; the most flagrant impeachment of Papal infallibility or divine guidance, which still remains to its advantage in the common mind of the masses of the Catholic populations. Of the two horns of the dilemma, victory will gore the Church most deeply. But to one or the other of these alternatives the present policy of Leo XIII. dooms him. That there are wise and earnest Catholic churchmen who see these possibilities, my ears are witness; they are not concoctions of a heretic brain, for I hear them discussed by good Catholics in the once papal city.

X.

Rome, June 30, 1892.

THE RACE OF THE LANGUAGES IN EGYPT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: You may be interested to know that a unique competition is in progress in old Egypt, and that the study of the English language in the schools is more and more sought by the scholars in the studies of election. English is now taught in thirty-seven out of a total of forty-four schools; and though there are only five schools where the official languages are Arabic and English, compared to sixteen schools where boys are taught in Arabic and French, there are now a score of schools where there are French and English masters in addition to the native teachers. At the age of nine, boys can practically decide whether they will learn French or English. French has been the chief foreign language ever since the First Napoleon's time, and most Egyptians of consequence are familiar with it; and but few, till quite recently, knew English. In fact, Egypt has virtually been intellectually occupied by France. But a change seems to be imminent, and ere long the relative positions of these two speeches may be reversed, in spite of the efforts of the society in France formed with the object of propagating French thought and literature in Egypt, and which watches the English propaganda with anxiously jealous eyes.

This society has, however, confined itself principally to the Copts, for the reason that from among this people spring most of the commercial class. A year or so ago, some fifty Englishmen in Egypt subscribed a fund of nearly nine hundred dollars for the purpose of offering prizes to the boys in the Government schools, including the Medical College in Cairo. The idea took so well that 1,312 pupils this year competed, from 23 Government schools in the country, for 123 prizes; a prize or two being offered to every class learning English. In some cases the examination was very severe, and it is stated that 1,074 candidates gained more than half-marks, while 533 of them actually obtained 75 per cent. The credit of this work and the rapidly accruing results, so much commented and exulted upon by English journals, are mainly due to the efforts of the recently brought-out staff of English teachers, who are doing their utmost to make the language popular. Probably the material prosperity of the country following in the wake of the British control, and the disappearance of the brutal tax-gatherers of former régimes, are more or less connected with the progress and popularity of the work. There is no difficulty on the part of the students, but the movement has unfortunately aroused the active jealousy of the French, who do not seem to understand that there is nothing to prevent their offering similar prizes for proficiency in their own language.

It has long been said that the lowly Egyptian was incapable of change or rapid mental improvement such as is now actually going on. That this people can be formed into fairly good fighting material, as demonstrated by recent trials, is another shock to the upholders of the old order of things. All this signifies that ordinary humanity, wherever found, is readily impressible to the higher impulses, and that old Egypt still retains the germs of a better civilization than has been vouchsafed her these last nine centuries.

C. A. Siegfried.

Newport, R. I.

MURAL DECORATION OF EGYPTIAN TOMBS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: An artist friend, failing to find, after long and earnest search in a large reference library, any answer to the question which had suggested itself to him, of how the ancient Egyptian artists secured light to execute their mural paintings in dark tombs, applied to Mr. H. Villiers Stuart, author of 'Nile Gleanings,' with the result enclosed. Perhaps others may be interested in the question also.

X.

Madison, Wis., July 8, 1892.

Dear Sir: I have just had the pleasure to receive your letter of May 12. You ask, "By what light did the ancient Egyptian artists execute the wall paintings in their lightless, rock-hewn tombs?" The same question has often occurred to me. Of course they were executed by artificial light, but the only appliances for artificial light that have been discovered are terra-cotta oil lamps of small size. These were fed with olive oil, and yielded each much the same volume of light as the modern wax candle. I have often picked up broken specimens of such lamps in the tombs. By this dim light they managed to sculpture the bas-reliefs and also to color them.

In the tombs of the kings, not only are acres of wall covered with minutely detailed paintings, but the ceilings also. It must have been ruinous to the artists' eyes as well as most laborious. But kings and feudal nobles gave the command, and their slaves had to find means to carry out their masters' commands, or woe be to them. Such temples as Abou Simbel, and such tombs as those of the Kings, penetrate the very bowels of the mountains, and were of course absolutely lightless.

Yours very truly,
H. Villiers Stuart of Dromana.

16 Queen's Gate, South Kensington, S. W., London, June 1, 1892.

Notes.

The valuable compilation, by Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, of 'Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States Published during its Discussion by the People,' is to be followed by a companion volume of 'Essays on the Constitution,' published at the same period. Among the better known of the essayists are James Sullivan, Elbridge Gerry, Oliver Ellsworth, Roger Sherman, George Clinton, Alexander Hamilton, Hugh Williamson, and Charles Pinckney. Their medium was the public press of the several States. Mr. Ford's address is 97 Clark Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. We take this opportunity to notice his reprint, from the Boston Public Library's Bulletin, of his own "Some Materials for a Bibliography of the Official Publications of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789." It makes a handsome volume with a page in double columns, of which one is blank, to admit of insertions.

D. Appleton & Co. announce 'An Englishman in Paris,' consisting of personal reminiscences during the reigns of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon. These have a distinct literary flavor.

Ginn & Co. have in press Hugo's 'Les Misérables,' condensed and edited for school use by Prof. F. C. de Sumichrast of Harvard; and a 'German Grammar for High Schools and Colleges,' by Prof. George Hempl of the University of Michigan.

The publishers of *Puck* announce that within the present year they will issue a limited edition (to be sold by subscription only) of 'Cartoons from *Puck*,' by Joseph Keppler, "being a choice selection of the most noteworthy of Mr. Keppler's cartoons that have appeared in *Puck* from 1877 to 1892." Mr. H. C. Bunner will provide explanatory and historical notes. Keppler & Schwartzmann will also issue Mr. Bunner's humorous story, 'The Runaway Browns,' now appearing weekly in *Puck*, as soon as it is concluded in that publication.

A. R. Keller Co., Philadelphia, correct ou statement that their newly published Life of Mr. Blaine was meant to be a campaign bio-

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graphy. "We made arrangements," they say, "to issue this work as far back as February, when no one supposed, in face of the letter Mr. Blaine had written to Chairman Clarkson, that there was any possibility of his being a candidate, or that his name would even be mentioned in the Convention."

Two years ago an edition of the 'Speeches and Public Addresses of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,' was undertaken, with his consent and with his assistance for the knotty places, by A. W. Hutton and H. J. Cohen. Methuen & Co., London, have just issued the tenth and concluding volume of this selection from the utterances of sixty years. It covers the years 1888-1891, and its contents illustrate very happily the many-sidedness of this statesman's mind. The Irish Question, in various phases, is a frequent theme. The Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland was the subject of approbatory remarks in the House on April 24, 1890, and Mr. Gladstone has just felt at the polls the ecclesiastical resentment caused by his support of that measure; and not unexpectedly, for, being menaced with it, he said: "I shall be most happy to answer to the electors of Mid Lothian for my conduct" in respect to a certain protest from that quarter against Disestablishment. Mr. Gladstone also spoke at the Eisteddfod, at Wrexham, Wales, in 1888; on the State of Agriculture in England, at the Hawarden Flower Show, in the same year; on the Workman and his Opportunities, in 1889; on Free Trade and the McKinley Act, in 1890; on the Channel Tunnel—most sensibly—in 1888; on the Homeric Artemis, at Eton, in 1891; and on the Future of the Liberal Party, in Newcastle (whose electors have just disappointed him), in 1891. We may also mention his obituary tribute to John Bright in the House, in 1889—generous, if not specially felicitous; and a short speech in French in Paris, in 1889. There is a frontispiece portrait of the orator, who has already gone far towards supplying material for an eleventh volume.

Jack Ketch and Captain Kidd are among the disreputable personages who figure in the thirty-first volume of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan). A light reputation might also be predicated of Pepys' flame, Mrs. Knipp. John Knox has the honor of the longest article—twenty pages. Eight are given to Charles Kingsley, whose sympathetic biographer is Leslie Stephen, with praise for his "first-hand descriptions of the nature that he loved" as unsurpassed, and for his "Andromeda" as "perhaps the best example of the English hexameter." Mr. Stephen, who does not generally blink things, and deals impartially with the Newman controversy, passes over Kingsley's heated defence of Gov. Eyre for his Jamaica hangings. Mr. Stephen also contributes the brief notice of Kinglake, the historian. Canon Ainger of right tells the story of Charles Lamb in some six pages. The publisher and Shaksperian editor Charles Knight receives honorable mention. To his inventiveness as a journalist we owe perhaps the first instance of the practice of summarizing articles in the magazines, and the device of "patent insides" for country papers. Mr. W. H. G. Kingston, the writer of juvenile novels, fills less than a page of this Dictionary; but the list of his works requires nine and a half pages in the Catalogue of the British Museum, we are told.

Mr. W. M. Griswold's original guide-book called 'Travel,' published by the author at Cambridge, Mass., has attained to No. 107 in its series of carefully selected, sometimes abridged, and generally annotated descriptions of visits to sundry European places. One volume, bearing the name 'Travel,' is a miscellaneous assortment, but others are formed out of related groups and labelled 'France,' 'Germany,' 'Switzerland,' and have a very practical utility for all intending visitors to those countries. Each description has its number. Thus, the Rev. Harry Jones's "Interlaken to Aosta" is No. 106, and in the course of it there is mention of the Wengern Alp, whereupon Mr. Griswold claps on the number 15 in superior figures to show that by turning to No. 15 we shall learn all about that alp. Moreover, Mr. Griswold contrives to maintain his phonetic propaganda, printing, "hī snōs," "ōnce," "thêy," "chief," "brôt," "twilīt," "ëarlier," and other diacritic novelties. Finally, each volume has an index to the whole 107 pieces.

The annual revision of 'Appletons' General Guide to the United States and Canada' has been much more extensive than usual for the current volume for 1892, which has been enlarged by forty pages, and has suffered a minute overhauling. As might be expected, Chicago furnishes a good example of changes having special reference to the coming World's Fair. With new maps there are also new illustrations, the discarded ones, however, being sometimes missed, as in the case of Boston, and the style of production being too heterogeneous. The Appletons have also brought out Part II. of their "Canadian Guide-book," uniform with Prof. Roberts's 'Eastern Canada and Newfoundland.' Mr. Ernest Ingersoll is the compiler of 'Western Canada,' and betrays his customary skill as a writer and book-maker. The guide-book possesses a high quality from a literary point of view, and is well illustrated.

The late J. J. Weiss, one of the most brilliant of the *normaliens*, although not as prominent as About and Prévost-Paradol, as M. Taine and M. Sarcey, was for a while the dramatic critic of the *Débats*, writing the regular weekly article every Monday. Under the general title of "Trois Années de Théâtre," four volumes of these articles are to be published, of which the first has just appeared, 'Autour de la Comédie-Française' (Paris: Lévy; New York: F. W. Christern). The best pages of this are devoted to a comparison of Molière and Plautus, an analysis of Émile Augier, and a eulogy of Regnard. The other volumes are to be called 'À propos de Théâtre,' 'Le Drame Historique et le Drame Passionel,' and 'Les Théâtres Parisiens.'

On the 7th of June the seal of the University of Oxford was affixed in Convocation to an indenture of agreement with Mr. Charles Drury Fortnum. Mr. Fortnum agrees (1) to add the remainder of his valuable collections to those portions of them already in Ashmole's Museum, and with them to give his library; (2) to give £10,000 subject to the payment of an annuity during his life, but otherwise to be used under the name of "The Fortnum Trust Fund" for the increase of the Ashmolean Museum and of the salary of its keeper. The University agrees (1) to assume certain pecuniary responsibilities in the administration of "The Fortnum Trust Fund," and (2) to expend £15,000 upon building an extension of the University Galleries, to be called "The Ashmolean Museum," and to house the old collections of Tradescant and Ashmole as well as those of Mr. Fortnum, together with everything now contained in Ashmole's ancient building. This vacated space, being contiguous to the Bodleian Library, is to be handed over to Bodley's Librarian. The more modern Randolph and Taylor buildings, a part of which is known as "The University Galleries," taken together with the new Ashmolean, will form a Museum of Art and Archæology worthy of the marked revival of those studies which began under Ruskin and is in progress under Professors Herkomer and Gardner. It is thought that no Oxford benefaction since the gift of the Douce collections has been equal in importance to this of Mr. Fortnum, seconded as it is by a considerable pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the University.

The approaching sale of the unrivalled "Lord Spencer's" Library—*en bloc* if a purchaser can be found—has prompted the New York house of Mitchell's to propose a syndicate of American book-collectors for that purpose, "the books to be brought to New York and put up for auction either among the members of the syndicate or to the public."

The Danish Statistical Bureau recently published a monograph containing interesting comparisons of the increase in population in the different parts of Denmark during the years 1801, 1840, 1860, 1880, and 1890. From this it appears that since the beginning of the century Copenhagen has grown from 100,975 to 312,859. The greatest increase has been since 1860, when the population more than doubled. In 1801, the second largest town was Odense, with 5,782 inhabitants. In 1880 it was outstripped by Aarhus, which at present has a little over 33,000. Since 1860 Aarhus has more than trebled. The smallest towns in Denmark are Mariager and Aarkirkeby, which have grown from 414 and 455 respectively to 761 and 957. The greatest growth is that of Frederiksberg, a suburb of Copenhagen. It has risen from 1,172 to 46,954—a growth similar both in cause and extent to that of the upper part of New York city.

The newly published Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society for 1891 contains a sketch of a former Democratic Senator from that State, Mahlon Dickerson, with extracts from autograph letters. One of these, to Lewis Cass (November 19, 1840), after the election of Harrison, comments on the mistaken Democratic attempt to force down the Sub-Treasury Bill at an extra session. "Those who deserted our ranks were considered as Federalists, not worthy of our attention, and the system of proscription was followed up with greater vigor than ever, in order that the party might be made *perfectly pure. It is indeed made very pure, but inconveniently small.*" We used, amid the early proscription of Mugwumps, to make precisely the same observation to our friends the Republicans—as our files will bear witness. Mr. Dickerson, a firm protectionist, favored "a perfectly reciprocal commerce—not with one nation, but with all nations—and that by legislation, not by negotiation. . . . The House of Representatives of the people should never submit to any infringement of their constitutional powers to regulate commerce."

The *Civil-Service Record* of Boston and the *Civil-Service Reformer* of Baltimore have wisely been consolidated under a title which implies permanence, *Good Government*. It will be edited in Washington, and issued simultaneously in that city and in New York. Mr. F. E. Leupp of Washington, a journalist of large experience and entire sympathy with the cause, will conduct the new journal, which will receive the cordial support of the leaders of the civil-service-reform movement.

Two or three years ago a French critic mildly complained of the enormous crop of memoirs and letters that the centenary of the Revolution had brought out. He could not go into the country for a Sunday, he said, without finding on his table when he came back half-

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a-dozen new volumes of them pressing for notice. The harvest seems even now to be far from its end. Among the more recent additions to it the souvenirs of M. de Viel-Castel are noteworthy. These are appearing in a rather fragmentary sort of way in the *Correspondance*, under the care of the Duc de Broglie. The latest portion published relates to the year 1818, when M. de Viel-Castel had just entered as an attaché the depot of the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The director of the depot was then the Comte d'Hauterive, of whose pernicious revolutionary activity in the United States Washington had at an earlier day complained to the Committee of Public Safety. Viel-Castel gives a somewhat minute and life-like portrait of this worthy, which will be of a certain interest to students of American history. There are also in the picture some extremely pretty touches of observation which make a wider appeal.

—In the *Bookman* for July, the anonymous writer of the striking series of papers on "The Carlyles and a Segment of their Circle" arrives at Emerson's second visit, and gives us some lifelike traits of both guest and host. "Carlyle, still full of Cromwell, resented with needless heat Emerson's refusal to fall down and worship the Puritan hero"; and the American, on his part, said that "Carlyle's heart is as large as the world, but he is growing morbid." He was most impressed by Carlyle's conversation, which he compared to sculpture, and thought more marvellous than his books. Going to breakfast with the writer of these "Recollections," Emerson took along photographs of his wife and children, saying apropos of the former: "If any of our family are saved, it will be through her merits." Referring to Carlyle's hot denunciations of authorship, Emerson said: "If Mr. Carlyle can show me any better employment than literature, I shall be happy to betake myself to it." Emerson gave a dinner-party to his Manchester friends before quitting that city, at which were present some from northern and midland counties with whom he had long corresponded on high matters—"a strange collection of mystics, poets, prose-rhapsodists, editors, schoolmasters, ex-Unitarian ministers, and cultivated manufacturers." One of the guests, a vegetarian, found a dinner of herbs considerately prepared for his special consumption. "After the prandial and post-prandial babblement, our host gave a serene close to the evening by reading to us his lecture on Plato." In the brilliant London society where Emerson found all doors open to him, he appears to have sat for the most part, as he did at those gatherings made memorable by Lowell, "Listening with eyes averse." Indeed, so abashed was he at the thought of giving lectures in London that his friends had to resort to the innocent ruse of getting up a formal request to him, signed by several notabilities, in order to force him to the platform. The original of this memorial has lately been turned up in Forster's papers. After the first lecture, Carlyle sallied forth to Emerson's quarters on a visit of congratulation, but was able to deliver himself of no other compliment than that the lecture was "very Emersonian." "Moonshine," it will be remembered, he called it in private. However, before Emerson left England, Carlyle spoke of his lectures as "intellectual sonatas," and said that he was "a beautiful figure among those talking Yankees," and the ideal of an American gentleman.

—The paper closes with a hitherto unnoticed memorial of his intimacy with Emerson, in the shape of an article on "Indian Meal," published in *Fraser's Magazine* for May, 1849, and signed "C." Carlyle wished, like Cobbett, to see Indian corn introduced in those days of potato-disease, and got Lord Ashburton to have Emerson's sample ground by his own millers and prepared by his own French cook. Of the result thus reached, Carlyle declared that it was meal "sweet among the sweetest, fit for the cook's art under all manner of conditions," on which a grown man could be "supported wholesomely, and even agreeably, at the rate of little more than a penny a day." On the strength of these good tidings, he bade "the disconsolate Malthusian fling his 'geometrical series' into the corner, assist wisely in the Free-Trade movement, and dry up his tears." There is no doubt that the article is Carlyle's, though not included in any edition of his writings; he told the writer in the *Bookman* that he had sent the article in the first instance to the *Times*, but that the editor returned it.

—We announced, not long ago, the impending publication of a great number of Rousseau's unpublished letters, enough to make a very considerable volume, which has now appeared in Paris, thanks to M. Henri de Rothschild, who procured the curious collection, and to M. Léo Claretie, who very agreeably introduces it to the public. It consists of a correspondence, running through the years between 1762 and 1773, between Jean-Jacques and Mme. Boy de La Tour, who was one of his most faithful friends and benefactors. She was in the way of performing for him all sorts of small commissions at Lyons, and it is to these errands that Rousseau's letters almost exclusively relate. They have no literary interest or value whatsoever. But, for the modern biographer, and perhaps also for the modern reader, they will be of interest, for Rousseau was extremely minute and circumstantial in giving his commissions, and one can easily reconstruct him out of them in his habit as he lived. Ample information is furnished as to what he ate and drank, and how he dressed, and of what shape his nightcaps were, and how he warmed his room, and what sort of candles he burned. Prices, too, of all sorts of things, some of them hopelessly out of fashion now, are carefully set down. One can find what barracan was by the yard in the years just before our Revolution, and camlet, and taffeta, and many another stuff. None of this new information, as will be seen, is of high importance, but it has its own humble place. Many will value it more highly than M. Émile Faguet does, who notices the book in the *Revue Bleue*. He calls it an "interview of Jean-Jacques by Rousseau," and lets it go at that.

—"One must be a barbarian not to know the name of Nicolò Bettoni," said Victor Cousin in 1832, on being introduced to this Italian publisher, whose imprint was, in fact, bestowed on five million volumes, and whose active career in this capacity covered the thirty years from 1806 to 1836. He was a writer, too, of many things besides prospectuses; and though not of the first rank as a stylist, he was a sufficiently weighty polemic, and in common discourse he was extremely plausible and persuasive. For half a century he was notorious both in Italy and in France, where he ended his days in wretchedness; but his name has now quite slipped out of the biographical dictionaries. It has been the pious work of Signor Piero Barbèra, the present head of the well-known Florentine house, to revive the memory of his fellow-countryman and publisher, as he had already done in the 'Ricordi biografici di Vincenzo Batelli, tipografo fiorentino,' and the 'Ricordi biografici di David Passigli, tipografo-editore.' He has accordingly produced a charming sketch of one hundred pages, entitled, 'Nicolò Bettoni: Avventure di un editore' (Florence: Barbèra), followed by bibliographical lists of Bettoni's writings and publications. This restless and speculative genius was the founder of five printing establishments, and conducted four at one time—in Brescia, Padua, Milan, and Portogruaro, his birthplace. He gave a great development to the popular subscription "Library"—of classical authors, of Italian writers, of international masterpieces, of iconography, etc.—and invented the scheme of increasing his subscribers by promises of prize drawings if the number exceeded a certain figure or figures. This brought him into trouble in France, where he sought to introduce a method frowned upon by the native publishers. While not a master of the details of the printing business, preferring the rôle of general manager and over-sanguine *impresario*, he was nevertheless a precursor of the rotary press, having invented a cylinder for giving the requisite impression to forms moved forwards and backwards on a horizontal carriage. He was apt to overestimate the public reception of his enterprises, but he suffered his greatest losses from the unfaithfulness of his employees. The most salient episode in the story is the quarrel with Ugo Foscolo, which is candidly set forth by Signor Barbèra with great impartiality and delicacy. Like Foscolo, Bettoni was of the circle of the Countess Teotochi Albrizzi ("cara Isabella"), of whom our Italian correspondent discoursed lately in these columns.

—To those whose memory goes back twenty or thirty years it is interesting to note the rapid multiplication of the means of illustrating classical study in the school-room. For the few poor woodcuts that were supposed to adorn the school-books of a former generation, we have a profusion of reproductions—sometimes of the highest order of excellence—and the office of the picture, the engraving, is everywhere recognized. Twenty years ago, to give a practical instance, a primer was projected which should show under *equus* a horse as the Romans saw him, under *aratrum* a plough as the Italians used it; but the project was rejected by the publishers as fanciful. Now Comenius and the 'Orbis Pictus' have come to their rights again, and there is no end of illustrated school-books of Greek and Latin. And yet this does not satisfy the pedagogic soul, and the other day an Austrian teacher complained that the map or atlas form of illustration was too cumbrous and too costly for the average school-boy, and advised his fellow-teachers to do as he had done, and to make a collection of the illustrations sent out at Christmas and New Year in publishers' sample-sheets. It seems that in an incredibly short time the experimenter had brought together hundreds of admirable illustrations, which, pasted on stiff cardboard, could circulate freely from hand to hand; and they cost nothing. Doubtless we are on the eve of the leaflet system as applied to illustration, perhaps are in the thick of it. Meantime, it is our business to welcome the American edition of Engelmann and Anderson's 'Pictorial Atlas to Homer,' published by B. Westermann & Co.—one of those international enterprises with which Kiepert's atlases have made us familiar. By changing the letter-press to suit

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the locality, the same illustrations may be made to serve the whole world of schoolboys; and the curious investigator of the next century may well ask the question whether this community of text-books has not contributed powerfully to the levelling of the nations. As each nationality has its pet verses of Scripture, so each nationality might well be supposed to dwell with favor on some special side or scene of a universal classic such as Homer; and it is evident that if this thing goes on, we shall all be forced into the common German mould.

—Still, we must not grumble at so good a thing as Engelmann and Anderson's 'Pictorial Atlas.' The value of the work is incontestable, and the plan worthy of all acceptance; although, as the chief editor anticipates, some scholars may think that the scheme of giving un-Homeric details of Homeric myths in the interest of mythological study is a stretch of the proper purpose of the book, which is, after all, to show what a hold Homer had on antique civilization. Of course it does not undertake to illustrate the Homeric world as the Homeric singer saw it. That could not be done, even if we had more remains of the period than we have, for the poet's eyes had a light that does not come from Assyrian or Egyptian art. But we are sorry to note that an evil fate seems to have presided over the transfer of the German letter-press to English. "Herald" appears unchanged as "herold"; our old friends the enemies of the Pygmies are changed from "cranes" to "storks"; and in trying to identify the Pygmies we find ourselves introduced to a lot of "niggers" who look unconventional in this undress. "Labor" is represented by "travail pain"; the "Laestrygonians" are syncopated into "Laestrygians"; and in the Greek text there is a liberal sprinkling of false accents. But, for all that, the book is a welcome addition to our school-apparatus for Homer, and may be cordially recommended.

—Schmeltz's *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* (Leyden, Band V., Heft I.) contains an exceedingly interesting and exhaustive article of nearly twenty pages "On Ancient Mexican Shields," by Zelia Nuttall, with three plates of more than sixty colored illustrations. Mrs. Nuttall is recognized by scholars in both hemispheres as an authority in this branch of research, and has honestly attained this high position by the thoroughness of her philological and archæological equipment and the remarkable acuteness and conscientiousness of her investigations. The same qualities which characterized her former monographs, "Standard or Head-dress? An Historical Essay on a Relic of Ancient Mexico," and "The Atlatl or Spear-thrower of the Ancient Mexicans," distinguish also in an eminent degree the paper now before us. It is a careful and comprehensive study based upon original sources, comprising early chronicles, old inventories of gifts sent by the Spanish conquerors to Charles V. and other personages, specimens of native Mexican art in ethnographical museums, and a dozen codices, and not only constitutes a valuable contribution to the special subject discussed, but also throws welcome light on portions of the still obscure and imperfectly explored province of Aztec civilization. The author begins with war-shields, of which there was a great variety according to different grades of the service. As the Aztecs waged wars chiefly for the purpose of procuring human victims for sacrifice, the aim of the soldier was not to kill, but to capture as many of the enemy as possible, and it was for such bloodless deeds of valor that he was most sure of rapid promotion. He entered the army, so to speak, as a blank sheet, on which he was to inscribe in hieroglyphic colors and characters the history of his military career. "His face and body were unpainted, his clothing was plain white, and his shield was a simple one of interwoven strips of bamboo cane"; but with every batch of prisoners he brought in, he was permitted to add some new ornament to his costume and to stain his skin with some bright pigment, until he became a gaudily painted warrior, with gorgeous shield, golden nose-crescent (*yacametze*), and other conspicuous insignia of exalted rank. Mention is also made of an oblong shield, which covered its bearer from head to foot, but which, when he was obliged to run, he could roll up and carry under his arm like an umbrella or a water-proof cloak.

—It was, however, the second class of shields, designed only for display at religious feasts and dances and on other gala days, on which the Aztec lavished his greatest artistic skill and barbaric wealth of decoration. Nearly all the shields sent by Cortez to Charles V. as "gifts to be distributed to churches, monasteries, and private individuals," were of this kind. The majority of them have doubtless perished and are known to us only from brief descriptions recorded in Spanish inventories or from pictorial representations in ancient Mexican manuscripts in which they are borne by various deities. A most interesting relic of this sort was recently discovered by Mrs. Nuttall at Ambras Castle, near Innsbruck, and recognized by her as identical with the "shield of red feathers, on its field a blue dragon of coarse mosaic work, garnished with gold-leaf," described in the inventory of 1596. This shield has been at Ambras for more than three centuries, and is in a marvellous state of preservation. "The feathers of which the mosaic work is composed are still fresh in color and have escaped the ravages of moths. Only a few pieces of the gold ornamentation are missing." Another interesting discovery recently made by Mrs. Nuttall we have already reported, viz., an ancient Mexican manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence under the Spanish title: 'Libro de la vida que los Yndios antiguamente hazian, y superstiçiones y malos ritos que tenian y guardavan,' rich in colored designs which serve to illustrate the text and are exceedingly valuable from an artistic point of view. Mrs. Nuttall is now having this entire codex photographically and chromolithographically reproduced in facsimile and will publish it at her own expense, with notes and introduction and an English translation of the text. The edition of this unique work will be limited to 200 copies, which may be purchased from the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, Harvard University. We may add that Mrs. Nuttall has been appointed Honorary Special Assistant in charge of the Mexican Department at the Chicago Exposition, and that she is having made for this department copies of some of the most important ancient Mexican manuscripts and antiquities now existing in European libraries and museums.

CONWAY'S PAINE.

The Life of Thomas Paine, with a History of his Literary, Political, and Religious Career in America, France, and England. By Moncure Daniel Conway. To which is added a sketch of Paine by William Cobbett, hitherto unpublished. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1892. 2 vols, 8vo.

It is a remarkable fact that Mr. Conway's Life of Paine is the first biography of the famous heretic worthy to be so called. The attempts of Cheetham and "Oldys" and Rickman were mere sketches—the two former worthless because of their malicious enmity; the last th testimony of a faithful friend, but devoid of any literary merit and of any critical temper or research. Meantime, Paine has been equally the victim of such fulsome eulogy as that of Col. Ingersoll and the most ignorant depreciation. Even the gentlemen and scholars from whom something different was to be expected have allowed themselves to go with the prevailing falsehoods and to better their instructions, as where Mr. McMaster, in his first volume, anticipates by ten years Paine's theological reputation, and attributes to it the disfavor shown his economical opinions; and Mr. Roosevelt, in his Life of Gouverneur Morris, calls Paine a "filthy little atheist," when five minutes' reading in the 'Age of Reason' would have informed him that Paine was as little of an atheist as any one in the wide range of notoriety, even the most orthodox. With such things possible it was high time that Paine should have a good biographer, one who would extenuate nothing, nor set down aught in malice, but present the man in physical and intellectual and moral habit as he was. If Mr. Conway has not done this in each particular, it is evidently from no lack of generosity in his disposition. It is very certain that he has set down naught in malice; that he has extenuated nothing, some, if not many, of his readers will be less confident. His investigation may have been judicial, but there is too much of advocacy in the manner of his book to produce the best effect on those who will come to it with a prejudice against Paine or in his favor. The latter would be more readily confirmed in their opinion by a more studious appearance of impartiality, and the former would yield something of their prejudice to such an appearance which they will probably withhold from Mr. Conway's steady stream of adulation,

> "Shining on, shining on, by no shadow made tender."

If this indication is too absolute, the only deduction to be made from it is with reference to Paine's personal habits. Cheetham, a miserable partisan journalist, charged Paine with gross intemperance, with licentiousness, and with extreme contempt for the proverbial belief that cleanliness is next to godliness. These charges have had the widest currency, and Mr. Conway has felt it incumbent on him to investigate them thoroughly, and in the main he has succeeded in refuting them.

> "Still to be neat, still to be dressed
> As you were going to a feast,"

was not felt to be necessary a century ago so generally as now. The republican and literary affectation was in the opposite direction. Paine would seem to have been so much tidier than Dr. Johnson, whose "clean-shirt days" were epochs for his friends, as to have been always careful in his dress and toilet; if not in his extreme old age and poverty and broken health, it were cruel to say much of this. Add to those disabilities neglect and wounded vanity and a broken heart, and if he had been as hard a drinker as the Long Island parsons opposite his farm at New Rochelle, it would have been more pitiful than strange. But, though the reports and rumors are conflicting, and it is not easy to strike the balance with complete assurance Conway's

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judgment that Paine's temperance was exceptional for his time seems sound enough. That there was a time, in 1793, after the arrest of the Girondins, of whose party Paine had been, and before his own imprisonment, when he took to brandy violently, in order to "forget his sorrows, and remember his miseries no more," Mr. Conway makes no denial. Whether his argument for the limitation of the term of this excess is accepted or rejected will depend a good deal on the theology of his reader. It is that no besotted person could have written the 'Age of Reason.' Granted; but might not its fifty pages have been produced in the lucid intervals of a period of extreme excess? To repel the charge of licentiousness was a much easier matter; for this charge was confined to his relations with Madame Bonneville, who followed him to this country with her children, and was the object of his generous charity. When carefully considered, the evidence would seem to show that in an adulterous generation Paine was superior to the vice that smirched some of the most distinguished men.

Mr. Conway is deserving of much credit for the patience with which he has burrowed in contemporary records, in collateral biography, and in the hearsays and traditions that have seemed to promise some illumination of his long and painful way. He has brought many valuable and interesting things to light. The contemporary testimonies to the dignity of Paine's character, the graciousness of his behavior, and the value of his services which are brought together, are such as might have made a man less naturally vain extremely proud, while they completely overwhelm the countertestimonies of his religious and political opponents. And yet there is a haunting afterthought that will not be dismissed. It is, Why, when Paine did so much and was so much, was he not more? After he came back to America in 1802, with Federalist and theological animosity both against him and continually strengthening each other, it was not strange that he became a doubtful friend for the most friendly. But long before that we are constrained to wonder whether there was not lacking something of solidity in him; whether his talent was not so much more evident than his character that even those who valued him most highly could not take him quite so seriously as he took himself.

He took himself very seriously indeed, and Mr. Conway does not take him a whit less so. Paine's self-consciousness was intense and his vanity extreme. Not content with a prodigal use of the first person singular, he has much to say of "Thomas Paine" and "Common-Sense," a synonym of which he never tired. Speaking of the reason which God had given him, he adds, "And I gratefully know that God has given me a large share of that divine gift." The proverb that the vain are never proud had in Paine's case the amplest illustration. A little pride would have saved him from a good deal of chagrin. Mr. Conway has only praise for his generosity in giving up the profits of one publication after another, but we could go with him much more heartily if afterwards he had not insisted on his gratuitous services and made himself the pensioner of this and that bounty, like the daughters of the horse-leech, for ever crying "Give." It was a true bill, that of Gouverneur Morris, when he found him supremely lacking in that common sense to which he laid a special claim. He had plenty of it in dealing with "soft money" and other aspects of concrete politics; he had very little in managing his own affairs. His cosmopolitan sympathies made him "a man without a country," and without the stability or adaptability which insures practical success. The brilliant talents which in our time would have made seven cities claim him as the editor of as many leading journals, left him a century ago a writer of pamphlets, and of letters in which he made a present of his opinions to some who valued them and some who did not, but who paid as little for them in the one case as in the other. While estimated by himself and many other generous spirits as a Universal Enlightener and Reformer, it is evident that to many others he appeared to be a mere adventurer. There is a golden mean between these two extremes, but it is not hit by Mr. Conway in his estimation of Paine's character and work. The epithets he heaps upon him—"this founder of republics," etc.—and the grandiose way in which he speaks of him throughout, though they may please and satisfy a multitude of Paine's adherents who needed no addition to their confidence in his supremacy, will have a tendency to make him seem absurd to those who come to Mr. Conway's book with any proper sense of relative values in the history of great events. Paine was one of the greatest of his kind, not exceeded by any of these in the picturesqueness or the tragedy of his career; but his kind was not that of Cavour and Stein and Deák; it was that of Cobbett and Defoe. He was one of the greatest of the pamphleteers, and in America his pamphlets were half-battles in "the times that tried men's souls."

This happy phrase is one of several of Paine's phrases that are now in daily use, and one of many that he coined on which his image and superscription were as unmistakable. He was a maker of phrases and he loved the things that he had made. We know this by the way he fondles them, repeating them as affectionately as does Tennyson the phrases that he loves. But his strength as a writer was not more in special phrases than in the even tenor of his style. Jeffrey's wonder as to where Macaulay picked up that style is even more pertinent of Paine. A single pamphlet, printed in 1772, was his only public writing before he came to America with Franklin's modest recommendation in his pocket, and but little else. There was in that no hint of 'Common Sense,' nor even of the best articles which he wrote before that for the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. As for the theory that he was the author of the 'Letters of Junius,' Mr. Conway mentions it respectfully, and disposes of it effectually in a dozen lines. It would have been enough to say that, were there a hint of Paine's style in Junius, it would have been as impossible for him to keep a secret so flattering to his vanity as for him to "get himself crucified and rise in three days," as Talleyrand advised one of his set to do if he would found a new religion. As we should expect, the author of this theory, Mr. W. H. Burr, also maintains the Baconian authorship of Shakspere. That Paine wrote the Declaration of Independence is another item of Mr. Burr's belief that somebody else wrote everything. Mr. Conway entertains so much of this suggestion as pertains to the rejected anti-slavery clause. "There can be little doubt," he says, "that this was written by Paine, or by some one who had Paine's anti-slavery essay before him." He then quotes Paine's words and the rejected clause in parallel columns, proving that the resemblance was not remarkable, and then continues, "Thus did Paine try to lay at the corner the stone which the builders rejected and which afterwards ground their descendants to powder." This passage from the indefinite to the definite, from the uncertain to the certain, is one of many such in Mr. Conway's book. Another is where Paine returns to England, and to his mother in her ninety-first year. "As she lived to be ninety-four, it may be that he sat beside her in the Quaker meeting-house." This on page 230, vol. i., and on p. 232: "While in America the States were discussing the Constitution proposed by the Convention, Paine sat in the silent meeting at Thetford, dreaming of the Parliament of Man and federation of the world." In general, Mr. Conway uses the Quaker antecedents of Paine for a great deal more than they are worth; but far more questionable is his finding of the root of Elias Hicks in Paine for no better reason than that his cousin, Willett Hicks, was kind to Paine in his last days, and was one of the half-dozen people who followed him to his lonely grave. There is a good deal of vague surmise in Mr. Conway's book, even where it is least admissible, as in the charge against Gouverneur Morris. He makes it plain enough that Morris was jealous of Paine's influence in France, and inimical to him; also, that his hostility kept Paine in prison for ten months, as his friendly disposition would have prevented his going there at all. This is bad enough. That Morris was at the bottom of a "conspiracy" against Paine, which resulted in his imprisonment as an Englishman, should have more evidence than Mr. Conway furnishes to be confidently received. Paine's sense of Washington's unkindness during his imprisonment and afterwards is one of the most distressing features of his history. Before expressing itself in the abusive public letter which, after the 'Age of Reason,' has most hurt his fame, it expressed itself in a private letter for a reply to which he waited long in vain. It is one of Mr. Conway's many guesses, and one of the most attractive, that Timothy Pickering, then Washington's Secretary of State, suppressed this letter.

Paine had done much good service with his pen, and in various clerical positions, in the years following the war, when in 1787 he went to England with the plans of an iron bridge which he had invented. The flattering reference to his invention which Mr. Conway quotes from the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' is from the eighth edition, and in the ninth it is withdrawn, along with the credit given to Paine for the bridge at Wearmouth; but of Paine's right to be accounted one of the pioneers upon this line there is no doubt. Paine's English friends were creditable both to his mind and heart; William Blake, called "Pictor Ignotus," was one of the more intimate, and to his sagacity Paine was indebted for his escape from England in 1792, when he added fuel to his 'Rights of Man' with an inflammatory speech. Mr. Conway's summary of that famous pamphlet, Part II., is not flattering to Paine's ability as a political philosopher—there is hardly an item of the summary that would be accepted by a careful publicist of our own time—but its strength was in its definitions only in a subordinate degree. That it made a tremendous stir and scare in England there can be no doubt, and Paine did not get off a day too soon. In France his intimacies for the most part were with the best men of the Convention, and Condorcet was his closest friend. Mr. Conway infers that Paine had much to do with Condorcet in shaping the constitution which the Girondists wanted, while the Mountain preferred chronic revolution. It was Paine's preference for law to revolution, and his anxiety to save the life of the King, that

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made him an object of suspicion to the revolutionary party. His inability to speak French must have been a serious bar to his enjoyment of society, and have kept him in imperfect touch with men and things. When the Girondists were arrested, Paine absented himself from the meetings of the Convention, but he was not thrown into prison until December 28, 1793. There, by a happy accident, he escaped the guillotine, but a fever brought him nigh to death, and he came out November 6, 1794, a physical wreck, to enter the family of Minister Monroe, where, tenderly cared for, he gradually regained his health.

The first part of his 'Age of Reason' was written just before he went to prison, and the second part during his confinement. Mr. Conway is not a little embarrassed in dealing with Paine's religious character, for he wishes to be sympathetic and he finds it difficult to be so. There never was, in fact, a doughtier advocate than Paine of that natural religion which is Mr. Conway's pet aversion. In his religious writings Paine stood for the religiousness of science as he stood for nothing else. That men should imitate the goodness of God as it is revealed in nature, is the sum and substance of his doctrine of religion. But to Mr. Conway, nature, especially inorganic nature, is simply devilish, and he does his best to wring from Paine a testimony favorable to his own opinion, but with no appreciable result. He chooses to call Paine a Theist, though the words Theist and Deist are generally supposed to connote different ideas, and Paine was as representative a Deist as any of his time; his God a mechanical creator, not an immanent life. Mr. Conway does not exaggerate the religiousness of Paine's theological writings. They were written to vindicate the character of God from what he considered the most hateful misrepresentations. For Jesus also he had only honest reverence. We look in vain to Mr. Conway for any adequate indication of the defects of Paine's criticism of the Bible. His negative results have very generally been justified by subsequent criticism and multiplied a hundred fold. As a zephyr to a tornado is the destructive force of his criticism of the Old Testament prophecies to that of Kuenen's 'Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.' But of the moral dignity of the prophets he had no appreciation, and he had as little of the ethical and spiritual qualities of the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles, and of the processes by which the writings of the Old and New Testaments came to be accepted and revered with but a little of the pious fraud in which he finds well-nigh their whole account. It is unfortunate, but it is true, that what has attracted to Paine a great majority of his followers has been, not his religiousness, but his negative assault on Christian superstition; and this has been because this negative assault is altogether his most characteristic note. The other is a still, small voice; this is the earthquake, the whirlwind, and the fire.

But if Paine's religion was something more than Mr. Conway's love and service of humanity, it was also and preëminently this. With less insistence than upon some other things, our author shows in almost every chapter of his book that Paine was one of the most humane of men, one of the most benevolent and beneficent. It was no accident that one of his first writings in America was a brave assault on slavery, nor that he opposed the execution of Louis, and all barbarous punishments. And the reformer was not a mockery of the man. In all his personal relations he was affectionate and tender, a lover of little children, a helper of the unfortunate. Had his education been equal to his talents, he would have done much better work. The imperfections of his knowledge were, however, less than the imperfections of his taste. It is one of the unconscious humors of Mr. Conway's book that he represents him as a poet who suppressed the sacred fire, for he was utterly prosaic, and never more so than when he "dropped into poetry." This defect entered into his interpretation of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, which is marked by the baldest literalism throughout. When every abatement has been made, Paine's humanity was so large and pure that nothing could be sadder than the sense of ingratitude and desertion which overwhelmed him at the last.

ROYCE'S SPIRIT OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

The Spirit of Modern Philosophy: An Essay in the Form of Lectures. By Josiah Royce, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. xv, 519.

MINDS trained to careful and exact thought are frequently repelled by the looseness and vagueness of what currently passes by the indefinite name of philosophy. In the history of thought, the separate sciences have one by one split off and differentiated into circumscribed and systematized bodies of generalized knowledge, taking little account of the opinions of individual thinkers except in so far as they may be appropriated by others and recognized as of value quite apart from the authority of the individual formulating them. A truth once proved becomes detached from its historical setting, forgets its own father, and stands solely on its merits. The fact that Descartes was the discoverer of a method of combining algebra and geometry is of small interest to the mathematician. Kepler's laws are called Kepler's only for convenience, and the student of mechanics does not care a straw for the authority of Kepler, nor does he enter into any curious inquiry as to the causes in the character and environment of this thinker which led to their formulation. Verification takes the place of an appeal to authority, and a clear line is drawn between science and the history of science; the latter being regarded as a department of historical study, and a science only in the sense in which history in general is a science. Few students think it necessary to look into it.

In recent times psychology and ethics seem to have made some progress upon this road. Discussion has become more impersonal, more scientific in method, less given to seeking authorities and threatening with consequences. Philosophy, as it is generally taught both in America and in Europe, is still literature, biography, or history, rather than an independent discipline embodying a systematic doctrine. It may be sufficiently interesting to know that Kant ate one meal a day, that Hegel wrote dreary love-letters, that Schopenhauer was a generally offensive character and quarrelled with his mother. But what have these things to do with the correctness of the distinction between phenomena and noumena, the theory of universals, or the doctrine of the "World as Will"? It is quite possible that Socrates would have had less confidence in the moral order of the universe had he been afflicted with intestinal indigestion, but that purely personal fact should have little significance to one weighing the objective value of his doctrine. However, the general public wants literature and biography when it attends lectures on philosophy, and Prof. Royce has prudently sugared a pill which the plain man finds it difficult to swallow unless disguised.

It is not merely in the historical part of his book (Lect. II. to IX.) that Prof. Royce shows a tendency to regard philosophy rather as literature than as science. He reveals throughout a literary horror of being found uninteresting, and in his introductory lecture (p. 23) he makes a frank confession of his feeling. He says:

"I love the variety of the philosophers, as I love the variety of the thoughtful looks which light up earnest young faces. I love all these because they express passion, wonder, truth. But alas for me if ever I have for professional reasons to study a book behind whose technical subtleties I can catch no glimpse of the manly heart of its author. His conclusions may be sound. I shall then hate him only the more for that. Error may be dull if it chooses; but there is no artistic blasphemy equal to so placing the harp of truth as to make it sound harsh and wooden when you strike it fairly. Philosophical books I have read with whose doctrines, as doctrines, I have even been forced in great measure to agree; and yet, so lifeless, so bloodless, were their authors, so reptilian were the cold and slowly writhing sentences in which their thought was expressed, that I have laid down such volumes with a sense of disgrace and rebellion, 'bitterly ashamed,' as a friend of mine has expressed the same feeling in my hearing—'bitterly ashamed to find myself living in a universe whose truth could possibly be made so inefficacious and uninteresting.'"

The type of mind illustrated in this confession is not attracted by a philosophy whose only merit is its clearness and evidence. It is attracted rather by an appeal to emotion. The attentive reader will find throughout the book constant traces of this leaning on the part of the author, and he will do well to keep it in view in weighing the final chapters, which contain Prof. Royce's positive contribution to philosophy.

The sketch of the history of modern thought as represented in Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer is charming reading. The style is clear—though it would be still clearer if a trifle less diffuse—and no little art is shown in the selection of incidents and doctrines. The writer is in evident sympathy with the men he discusses, and possesses in a high degree the historic sense which sees a man in his context and seizes his meaning fairly. The connection of the successive systems is well brought out. There is much biographical detail which has little to do with philosophy, but these lectures were delivered before popular audiences, and popular audiences must be entertained much as Epicurus is said to have entertained his followers and enlivened the tedium of scholastic labors. On the whole, we are of the opinion that these popular lectures may profitably be read even by those who have an acquaintance with the original authors, for along with the exposition there goes a running commentary of criticism which reveals more or less clearly the standpoint of the lecturer. He appears to have been influenced greatly by Hegel and Schopenhauer, though most, perhaps, by the latter. Indeed, the doctrine of the "World as Will" needs little modification to express fairly his philosophic faith.

Prof. Royce's own doctrine, embodied in the last four lectures in the book, must be judged on its merits as an attempt at a body of consistent reasoning founded on evidence. Its literary expression and artistic form, its appeal to "passion and wonder," its revelation of "the

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manly heart of its author," must all be set aside as quite extraneous to the question at issue, which is simply and solely the consistency of the doctrine and the cogency of the reasons for accepting it. Any literary embellishment other than that which conduces to perfect clearness is rather objectionable than otherwise. A multitude of words and illustrations may conceal looseness and inexactitude in reasoning, and, indeed, they constantly have precisely this result. Prof. Royce himself appeals to such a treatment of his reasonings as we conceive to be the proper one in maintaining (p. 435) that his doctrine is "the outcome of a rigid logical analysis."

This, however, we cannot allow it to be. The doctrine, briefly stated, is as follows: The one indubitable fact is the existence of an Infinite Self, a Logos or World-mind (p. 345). That it exists is clear (1) because Idealism has shown that real things are nothing more nor less than ideas, or "possibilities of experience"; but a mere "possibility" as such is nothing, and a world of "possible" experience, in so far as it is real, must be a world of actual experience to some self (p. 367). If, then, there be a real world, it has all the while existed as ideal and mental even before it became known to the particular mind with which we conceive it as coming into connection (p. 368). (2.) But there is such a real world, for when I *think of* an object, when I *mean* it, I do not merely have in mind an idea resembling it, for I aim at the object, I pick it out, I already in some measure possess it. The object is then already present in essence to my hidden self (p. 370). As truth consists in knowledge of the conformity of a cognition to its object, that alone can know a truth which includes within itself both idea and object. This inclusive knower is the Infinite Self (p. 374). With this I am in essence identical (p. 371), it is my larger self (p. 372), and this larger self alone is (p. 379). It includes all reality, and we know other finite minds because we are one with them in its unity (p. 409).

This doctrine is supposed to give us freedom and content with the system of things. All our volitions in the world of sense are determined, but since the Logos in a *timeless choice* elected that things should be as they are, and we are in essence identical with him, we are free as partaking in his timeless choice (p.433). And though the existence of evil cannot be denied, we may rest content with the world in the reflection that the Logos would have chosen a better world had he been dissatisfied with this one (p. 439).

As one may readily see, the reasoning which endeavors to establish the existence of the Infinite Self is loose and inconsequent, and the consolation to be derived from the doctrine more than dubious. Prof. Royce constantly distinguishes between ideas and the objects supposed to correspond to them, and he as constantly makes his point by overlooking this distinction. He sets out to search for "something yonder that corresponds in fact to this series of experiences in us" (p. 360). He expects to find this something a system of ideas "outside of our minds, but not outside of every mind" (p. 360). He seeks for a reality that our minds "resemble" (p. 361), and of which our experience is only the "copy" (p. 360). This reality exists before it becomes known to the particular mind we conceive as coming into connection with it (p. 368). Thus the reality is one thing, and the experience in this particular mind quite another. The problem is to pass from the experience to the reality.

This clear line between our ideas and what is supposed to correspond to them is promptly rubbed out in the assumption that when I *think of* an object, when I *mean* it, the object itself is already present to me (p. 370). True, it is admitted that the object is present only to the "hidden self." But since I, the self to which consciousness testifies, have only the thought of the object, the "copy," the personal "experience," I must surely give some reason for assuming the existence of the object other than the presence of the copy in me. Otherwise the existence of the object itself is by no means established. And as the "larger self" is "hidden," and is assumed merely as a something that shall include my "copy" and the object corresponding to my "copy," its existence goes under a cloud with that of the object. In short, Prof. Royce's "larger self" is simply a receptacle for smuggled objects—objects brought in free of duty because they are declared strictly identical with certain objects on the free list which yet he has carefully distinguished from them.

Individual minds Prof. Royce calls "bits" or "parts" of the Logos (pp. 373, 410, 412, 416, 437, *et passim*), and nevertheless he describes them as "in essence" identical with it (pp. 368, 371, *et passim*). This vague expression may cover a multitude of logical sins. Strictly speaking, they can be identical only with the particular bit they happen to be, and no one of them can in any exact sense be identical with any other. It is a mere playing with words to explain their knowledge of each other as arising from the fact that they are "in essence" identical.

And as to their participation in the "timeless choice" of the Logos, it is enough to say that, according to this doctrine, they never have had, have not now, and never will have any chance to choose at all. Any choice they may make in the lack of time that is left is too unlike what in psychology we know as choice to give any great degree of satisfaction. It would conduce to clearness to give this timeless performance some other name.

Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa. By Lord Randolph S. Churchill, M.P. D. Appleton & Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. xv, 337. Map and illustrations.

Lord Randolph Churchill's letters to the *Daily Graphic* could be dismissed in a few words as a lively but superficial account of familiar scenes, hardly worthy of preservation in book form, but for one reason: his purpose in undertaking this journey to Mashonaland was not that of a mere holiday traveller, but to inquire into the nature and extent of the agricultural resources and mineral wealth of this newly acquired territory. Regarded in this light, his letters have some importance, and can hardly fail to influence in a degree the present fortunes of the British South African Company. The earlier letters give his impressions of Cape Town, Kimberley, and the Transvaal, through which he passed on his way north. This State is described in the most glowing terms, as having a soil of "astonishing fertility," a genial climate, and, possibly, "the greatest gold-field of the world," to say nothing of its silver and coal mines. But all this potential wealth is rendered almost nugatory through the stubborn opposition of the ruling caste to its development. The Boer, according to Lord Randolph, "never plants a tree, never digs a well, never makes a road, never grows a blade of corn." The personification of useless idleness, he "drags out the most degraded and ignoble existence ever experienced by a race with any pretence to civilization." Although all the capital invested in the land is foreign and under foreign direction, although the inhabitants of his largest and most prosperous town, Johannesburg, are mainly English, and though more than three-fourths of his land is now owned by foreigners, the Boer insolently denies "all political and even municipal rights to persons residing in the Transvaal other than of Dutch birth." These are strong assertions, but other travellers tell substantially the same story, and the time is probably near at hand when, as Lord Randolph not obscurely hints, the Englishmen of the Transvaal "will impatiently jerk from their shoulders the government of the Boers."

Mashonaland proved in nearly every respect a disappointment, the greater because of its contrast to the coveted territory of the Boers. As regards its agricultural resources, our author's testimony is that "on the low veldt, where the soil is of extraordinary fertility, fever and horse sickness afflict human beings and exterminate stock; on the high veldt, where neither of these evils extensively prevails, the soil is barren and worthless." With respect to the value of its mines his conclusion, mainly the result of the investigations of an American mining expert whom he took with him for this purpose, is that gold has not yet been discovered in paying quantities—in other words, that the mines have been apparently exhausted by the prehistoric gold-hunters, the massive ruins of whose fortress-temples are still to be found in this region. Possibly the great contrast to the Transvaal, with its fertile soil, healthy climate, and rich mines, has colored somewhat too darkly the author's views, but the truth seems to be that the "hinterland" must first be filled up before Zambesia can greatly attract the European emigrant. Still, it should be said that there were some encouraging indications. During the two months in which he was at Fort Salisbury, the principal settlement, Lord Randolph observed "a noteworthy increase in the size and a marked improvement in the character of the township. Tents and wagon dwellings had rapidly given place to well-constructed huts, and these latter were being to a considerable extent supplanted by buildings of brick, of which material a fair quality is being manufactured here." Virgin gold-reefs which have escaped the quest of the Phœnician or Arabian miners, may also be discovered at any time, as well as other mineral wealth.

There are excellent descriptions of camp and wagon-life while crossing the veldt, and many readers will enjoy the account of the author's numerous and sometimes exciting experiences in hunting. Though the great game is getting scarce, lions, ostriches, and elands are still occasionally to be found, while the smaller antelope are plentiful in some districts. The pictures which originally appeared in the *Daily Graphic* have been reproduced in this volume, but, with a few exceptions, they can hardly be said to add to its attractiveness. A good index and an admirably clear map of all South Africa south of the Zambesi add materially to the value of the reprint as a book for reference.

Marriage and Disease: A Study of Heredity and the more Important Family Degenerations. By S. A. K. Strahan, M.D., Barrister-at-Law, etc., etc. D. Appleton & Co. 1892. Pp. 313.

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medicine and of law, which the author avows upon the title-page, that the medico-legal aspects of this book should suggest at once its limitations and its aims. Far from being a critically scientific study of heredity in general, or of the evidence in regard to the transmission of acquired characteristics, it is the purpose of the book simply to give a useful statement of the manner in which disease is handed down from generation to generation, and of the ways in which nature may be assisted or thwarted in the endeavor to perpetuate the normal man. Fortified by numerous quotations from standard works, the author is content to take for granted many things actually in dispute. His purpose is not controversial, but descriptive and educational. The five so-called "laws" of heredity are admittedly arbitrary divisions of one great principle—useful chiefly for descriptive purposes, and capable of being extended or contracted to suit the style of exposition. And here, as in other parts of the discussion, the author's canons of exposition do not forbid the introduction of personal conviction in the absence of more positive proof. In short, the hope embodied in the treatise, with constant and more or less unskilful reiteration, is the not unfamiliar one that man may learn to apply to the improvement of his own species the principles of generative selection which he has already learned to apply to the beasts that perish. It is admitted that marriage and the "choice of partners" is at present largely a matter of blind instinct; but this blindness—at all events the excuse of ignorance—it is the duty of science to remove. To those unfortunates in whom the taint of disease is irremediable, it should say: Refrain from perpetuating your misery in offspring; to that larger class whose heritage may be purified, it should point out the remedy; to those whose pedigree is pure, it should teach the way of guarding the precious legacy and transmitting it unimpaired. Nay, more:

"Nowadays, when the maniac, the melancholiac, and the would-be suicide of yesterday, the imbecile, the epileptic, and the habitual drunkard are married and given in marriage, the suffering has become so terrible, the contamination of the race so great, and the care of the useless offspring so heavy a charge upon the community, that if some effort be not made voluntarily to stay this curse upon the land, the Legislature must be called upon to interfere."

Obviously this is but a restatement of the familiar paradox of the survival of the unfittest, under the régime of sympathy that is the outcome of the humane and moral sentiments by which we measure the advance of civilization. In the "primitive and natural" condition of society, the unfit pays the penalty of his inability to adapt himself to his environment; in our philanthropic wisdom we adapt the environment to the unfit, and aid him by every device known to science to propagate his kind. Unquestionably there is a tendency to darken the picture. Statistics of disease would be lugubrious at best; but when to hereditary transmission of certain disorders there is liberally added the "transmutability of diatheses," it is easy to prove all the rest. Everything is reduced to the convenient common denominator of a "degenerate condition," which may manifest itself in one generation as gout and in the next as rheumatism, in one as habitual drunkenness, in another as epilepsy, and again as insanity, idiocy, or instinctive criminality, and so on through the category of alleged transmutations, so that it is not difficult to gratify the author's predilection for detecting hereditary "predisposition" for all the protean forms of disease.

When all qualifications are made, however, it must be admitted that the problem is grave and the need of enlightenment very great. It is a matter of regret, therefore, that the author could not have couched his instruction in more dignified and persuasive terms. Doubtless it may be urged that there is precedent for the somewhat hysterical rehearsal of Lecky's famous arraignment of legislation for refusal to provide proper sanitary measures for the repression of the disease spread by prostitution; but in the denunciation of the "canting blockheads" and "puling sentimentalists" who excuse selfish or ignorant disregard of the laws of heredity, the author's language shows none of the persuasive eloquence of understatement. There is, rather, a certain hortatory petulance, which sometimes comes from habitual treatment of all the world as a sick man.

Each chapter, after rehearsing in language suited to popular comprehension the gruesome characteristics of some such disease as cancer, scrofula, phthisis, epilepsy or gout, closes with the crucial inquiry as to who should marry. General rules borrowed from the stock fancier's manual are suggested as to the disastrous results of breeding "in and in" where the contracting families are tainted with allied forms of disease, and the beneficent results of "crossings"; but the gist of the whole matter for people contemplating matrimony is, "Consult your family physician." Indeed, it is no disparagement to say that this is probably the best advice to give such sensitive and conscientious people as may contemplate reading the book. Susceptible people, unfamiliar with the exaggerated effect produced upon the imagination by the massing of rather ghastly pathological details, are prone to make uncomfortably personal applications of imperfect knowledge.

Villainage in England: Essays in English Mediæval History. By Paul Vinogradoff, Professor in the University of Moscow. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1892.

NOT long ago it was common for philosophers to maintain that man was originally a pure and enlightened being, and that what we call progress as revealed in history was a struggle to return to the primordial state of blessedness. The grounds of this theory were largely Biblical, but not altogether so, for the belief in former *Saturnia regna* seems to have been almost universal, and the speculations of Rousseau were acceptable to many who rejected the Christian theology. It was in harmony with this tendency that many students of social institutions declared that in the mark or Teutonic village-community individual liberty existed in a high degree of perfection, and that the serfdom of feudal times represented a period of degradation. This view was supported by such an extensive array of evidence, and was upon many accounts so agreeable to the spirit of the present age, that it came to be regarded as certainly demonstrated, and it is hardly necessary to say that it plays an important part in the theories of the reformers of land tenure.

The researches of certain scholars, notably Mr. Seebohm and M. Fustel de Coulanges, have recently disturbed this somewhat too complacent unanimity as to the degree to which freedom prevailed among our Teutonic ancestors. Facts have been disclosed giving support to the view that during the feudal period there was much acquisition of rights by the subject population. Some rights were lost, but others were gained; and it has been plausibly argued that villains are to be regarded, not as the degraded offspring of freemen, but as the partly emancipated descendants of slaves. It is true that Tacitus drew an edifying picture of the free Teuton; but he is by no means silent as to the unfree members of the community, and some modern scholars have certainly failed to make room in their reconstructed villages for this important part of the population. Human bondage was an almost universal institution in early times, and slaves were at least as valuable to the primitive agriculturist as cattle are to the farmer of the present day. When a conquest was made, no doubt great numbers of the conquered were slain; but great numbers also were enslaved, and it is not to be supposed that the Anglo-Saxons either extinguished the existing inhabitants of Britain, or admitted them to an equal social position with themselves.

It seems evident, therefore, that the last word has by no means yet been said upon this subject, and that much more study is required before positive conclusions can be formulated. The work now before us is a good example of what should be done in this direction. The author is thoroughly modest; he does not profess to have achieved great results, and he manifests the most careful regard for the results obtained by other laborers in the same field. He exhibits in his introductory chapter a thorough knowledge of the progress that has been made in these investigations and a correct appreciation of the positions taken by the several investigators. In fact, this introduction is an admirable presentation of the history of our progress in this department of research, and to have written it establishes the competency of the author to further this progress. It is satisfactory to know, although we do not require other assurance of the author's capacity than the work itself, that he has been assisted by the friendly counsel of such men as Pollock, Maitland, and Seebohm, and we may add that his style seldom suggests that the writer is not an educated Englishman. In spite of this, he apologizes gracefully in his preface for presuming to explore this field, reminding us that to a Russian it is one of peculiar interest, the existence of serfdom in his country having ended but yesterday, while the village community is still flourishing.

As to the results reached by Prof. Vinogradoff, we can only say in general that they are such as he adduces evidence for. His work has lain among the records, and he cites his authorities for all his statements, but attempts no brilliant generalizations. He produces his effect by a thousand little touches, every one by itself trifling, but effective through cumulation. He displays nothing of the historical imagination which makes Seebohm's work so telling and distinguishes, though to a less degree, that of Gomme. Nor does he, as we hoped might have been possible, throw any light upon English problems from Russian analogies. His book, therefore, appeals only to specialists, and it would be futile to attempt here to consider the multitudinous details which it elaborates. In general, it may be said, he maintains that the status of the villain was better than has been supposed; that he was a free man as regarded every one except his lord, and as against him the law gave the villain much protection. Even in the thirteenth century, "we come across remnants of a state of things in which one portion at least of the servile class had civil rights as well as duties in regard to the lord." When status was in question, the presumption was in favor of freedom, and "however complete the lord's

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power over the serf may have been, it was entirely bound up with the manorial organization."

Much stress is laid upon the existence of tenant-rights in manors in ancient demesne, it being fairly inferable that these rights survived from the Saxon period. A careful examination of the theories of the lawyers leads to the distinction of three elements in villainage. "Legal theory and political disabilities would fain make it all but slavery; the manorial system ensures it something of the character of the Roman *colonatus;* there is a stock of freedom in it which speaks of Saxon tradition." More emphatic is the statement that the administrative constitution of hundred and county is derived from a social system which did not recognize the feudal opposition between freeholder and villain, and that in short the villain population was, to a large extent, originally free. Prof. Vinogradoff considers that this position may be maintained in spite of the fact that the communities mentioned in Domesday are described as almost entirely peopled by villains. The villains of Domesday, in his view, include customary freeholders. The discrimination of this third class, between freeholders and villains, is perhaps as important as anything suggested by this author.

In the intermixture of strips in the open fields evidence is found of the communal origin of property, the allotment being intended to equalize shares. The system became rigid from the manorial administration, which used it in the adjustment of labor and rent. Rights of common have a similar origin. In general, so far as any controlling theory is adopted, Prof. Vinogradoff's view is that the manorial structure was imposed upon the village community, in which freemen were to a greater or less degree an element. No satisfactory explanation is offered of the appearance of the lord of the manor, or of the origin of the manor, a link that should be supplied to make the theory complete. But the treatment of details is very elaborate, and the results go far to support the author's conclusions. More than this, upon such an obscure and controverted subject, we do not think it necessary to say.

The Early Days of My Episcopate. By the Right Rev. William Ingraham Kip, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of California. Thomas Whittaker. 1892.

THE title of this volume does not indicate that part of it which secures for it a certain lively interest. The early days of Bishop Kip's Episcopate will find few to care for them; the early days of California which coincided with them will find many more. The book was written in 1859 and 1860, with the intention of bequeathing the MS. to the author's family; but, having lived so long as to become, as it were, his own posterity, he has yielded to the solicitation of friends and printed it without alteration or addition. He would have done well, after the manner of Dana in the edition of 'Two Years before the Mast' published in his later life, to write a supplementary chapter giving a comparative view of the old life and the new.

Dr. Kip was appointed a Missionary Bishop of California in 1853, and sailed for Aspinwall on December 20, and, as men note the most unimportant circumstances on occasions of first-rate importance, he notes that one of those who came to see him off was the Rev. J. H. Hanson, who brought him 'The Lost Prince,' which came out that very day—an attempt to show that Eleazer Williams was Louis XVII. The trip to California was extended over forty days and diversified by the wreck of the magnificent coastwise steamer the *Golden Gate* in the harbor of San Diego, a wreck having no tragic implications, but all the more preposterous ones of the wreck of the *Royal George.* The general account of the trip, and especially that part of it which relates to crossing the Isthmus, would be pleasant reading on a through car from New York to San Francisco, such as the traveller may now enjoy—if gaining, also losing, much.

Bishop Kip remained in California till 1857, when he came East to be made a Diocesan Bishop and returned invested with his new office, to spend the remainder of his life in the work of his bishopric. The chapters of his book detail his first attempts to establish the services of his Church in different places, and there is a pervading humor in their incongruity with the social setting. Some confusion of the point of view is occasioned by transitions from a contemporary journal to the final reminiscence. A few dates would help to a better understanding: we would know, for example, more exactly when the population of San Francisco numbered 30,000 males and 5,000 females. The fabulous prices of various articles will interest the younger generation and for older people bring back the old surprise. Apples at five dollars apiece in 1854 were singularly unprophetic of the fruit-raising California of to-day. Rents and household service were almost as exorbitant—cooks from seventy to one hundred dollars a month and nurses at five dollars a day. A good deal of the local color, it must be confessed, is blood-red. Gentlemen were indicated as "the man who killed ——— in a duel" or "who shot ——— last winter"; and these little histories did not affect injuriously one's social or political standing. The theory that morals vary more in character than in amount is strengthened by some recent echoes of life in San Francisco that have floated hither. Their burden is that handsome houses there are now indicated as sheltering this or that form of conjugal infelicity or irregularity. In Southern California the people "had no doubt the Church could be established under very favorable circumstances. They wanted something which did not preach Nebraska or Kansas, slavery or anti-slavery," etc. These are the most familiar words in a volume which deals exclusively with the circumstances of an almost forgotten episode of Western civilization.

The Atlantic Ferry. By Arthur J. Maginnis. London: Whittaker & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co.

THIS book is somewhat similar in its scope to the volume recently published by the Scribners upon 'Ocean Steamships,' but much less popular and attractive in its treatment of the subject as well as in its text and illustrations. It contains, however, considerable matter which is both useful and interesting, and fulfils with a certain degree of success the author's intention to produce a handy and simple book of reference for those engaged in the Atlantic service; and to a less extent it may be consulted by the "thousands of passengers who are ever passing to and fro on the great Ferry."

The first chapter gives a history of the early steam navigation of the North Atlantic, with a reference at the beginning of the chapter to the famous lines of sailing packets from New York to Liverpool antedating the steamers. One of these vessels, the *Dreadnought*, leads the sailing record by a passage of only nine days and seventeen hours from New York to Queenstown. After the narration contained in this chapter of the occasional and irregular steamers which first crossed the Atlantic, the author proceeds to give in seven chapters an historical account of the various companies and lines that were formed and operated to cross the Atlantic regularly with steamers of increased speed and capacity. He begins with the Cunard line, passes next to the Collins line, and ends with the lines that sail from the ports of the Continent.

Other chapters of the book are devoted to the workings of an Atlantic steamship line on shore and afloat, to the advance in the construction of the vessels, and to the development of the various methods of steam propulsion. Brief notice is also taken of some of the men who have designed, built, and managed the steamships of the transatlantic lines. In the case of the Cunard line, the author recalls a notable event in Boston history by printing a graphic relation of the sailing of the *Britannia* from Boston harbor in 1844, when the harbor was frozen with ice seven feet thick at the wharves and two feet in thickness for a distance of seven miles. The story of the cutting of the channel and of the scenes accompanying the departure of the mail steamer is still told with gratification by the older watermen of Boston harbor. The Cunard line, notwithstanding the fact that its steamers are just now eclipsed by the express steamers of the Inman and White Star lines, has maintained its general preëminence among the Atlantic lines, and the two new steamers being built for this company will lead the merchant fleets of the world in size and speed as well as in cost and elegance. The plan pursued by the British Admiralty in giving a special subvention to a limited number of Atlantic liners constructed in accordance with their requirements for service as armed cruisers in time of war, is both wise and economical. It allows a larger proportion of the annual expenditure to be used for vessels required in the line of battle. It gives a tangible return for the money invested by the Government, and is of mutual benefit to the Government and to the steamship company. In its nature it is unlike a postal subsidy, shipping bounty, or mileage subvention.

The author has drawn so largely from his scrap-book in making this volume that it is suggestive at times of padding; but he has also incorporated a number of original diagrams and statistical tables which will be useful and interesting to those desirous of studying the development of the noble vessels that ferry across the Atlantic.

The Science of Nutrition, etc. By Edward Atkinson and Others. Springfield, Mass.: Clark W. Bryan & Co. 1892.

THOUGH this volume contains essays on food-values and dietaries in keeping with its title, its chief interest lies in its description of Mr. Atkinson's invention, the Aladdin oven. Impressed by the elaborate unsuitability to its purpose of the ordinary kitchen range, he some years ago began experimenting with various other methods of cooking, and has at last satisfied himself by the substitution of a paper box for the iron box that we now try to bake in. From the non-conducting character of the oven walls, there results a surprising economy of fuel, so that almost or quite all the cooking for a family of moderate size may be done with one central-draft lamp. This seems less astonishing when we remember that the heat of the lamp is strictly confined to its own

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work, cooking food, very little escaping to raise the temperature of the kitchen and the temper of the cook to their ordinary "summer heat." Economy of food as well as fuel, it is affirmed, attends the use of the Aladdin oven, since the cheaper meats, grains, and vegetables are so improved in taste and digestibility by long cooking at moderate temperatures as to be really better than more expensive kinds of food cooked in the common way. This long, slow cooking is just what cannot be managed in our fickle ranges without close watching, but the Aladdin oven, it seems, may be left to itself for hours at a time in perfect assurance that all will be well. It is even said that the family may sleep care-free while their breakfast cooks all night. The use of a thermometer to determine the heat of the oven and of accurate time-schedules promises to put the art of cooking on an exact and scientific basis, and will leave to the ridicule they deserve such ancient devices of oven-testing as "holding your hand in while you count thirty," and other trials by ordeal. In fact, the regulation kitchen range, however expensive and complicated, is shown to be merely a concession to barbarism—a clumsy, uncertain, wasteful device, likely to cook imperfectly even with intelligent care, and too often serving out at one time those two unappetizing dishes, singed beefsteak and barbecued cook.

The Aladdin oven, though in its nature especially fitted to bless the poor, will probably fail when put into the hands of coarse and ignorant women either in their own homes or in well-to-do kitchens where they rule the roast, as the greater exactness possible and necessary in using it will be anything but a recommendation to those who value luck as an excuse for their own shortcomings. Its greatest success should be scored in thrifty homes of the middle class. There are plenty of people who are poor enough and at the same time intelligent enough to welcome such an invention when once tried. The frugal housewife who used to sigh over her receipts beginning, "A pair of full-grown but fat and tender chickens" will smile, perhaps, with incredulity, to read one of Mr. Atkinson's: "Order the toughest old gander that can be found in the market," etc.; but she will be sure to feel a real satisfaction on learning how to make such unpromising material not only eatable but good. Whether we conclude that Mr. Atkinson has completely solved the kitchen problem or not, we must admit that the Aladdin oven marks a long step in the right direction of applying science in the very department of our household economy where it has been most ignored.

The Anglo-Saxon Towns and Their Polity. Inaugural Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Berne. By George Emory Fellows. [Genehmigt von der Facultät auf Antrag der Herrn Prof. Dr. Woker und Prof. Dr. Hidber.] Berne: Michel & Büchler. 8vo, pp. 88.

THIS is a remarkable little book. It is devoid of logical sequence in the arrangement of the matter; it exhibits ignorance of English history and of the very rudiments of historical method, as well as crudeness of thought; it teems with misstatements; its English (including spelling and punctuation) is wretched. In fact, not a page of the book is free from slovenly errors.

In enumerating eighteen titles on p. 7, the author makes about twenty mistakes. He evidently thinks that "Rerum Brittanicarum (*sic*) Medii Aevi Scriptores" is the title of a single treatise (pp. 7, 23, 27). This is like referring to Rolls Series, p. 30. He cites the Anglo-Saxon laws in a similar unscholarly way, thus betraying lack of familiarity with them, or gross negligence. Such references as Ethelred, section 6, are almost meaningless when we consider that there are eight collections of Ethelred's laws, each divided into chapters, and, in some cases, subsections. Dr. Fellows often cites other sources and secondary authorities with even less accuracy.

But these are trifling flaws compared with the chief defects of the book. In the narrow field of Anglo-Saxon municipal history the literature is not extensive, and can be mastered in a very short time. Dr. Fellows has not done this. He misrepresents Thompson's views regarding the early history of English boroughs (pp. 9, 20). The latter believed in their Germanic origin, not in their derivation from the Romans. With Coote, the chief exponent of the Roman theory, Dr. Fellows shows no acquaintance. The "earliest formal treatise" on English boroughs was written, he says, "some time previous to 1688." "When we consider that this author wrote during the reign of James II. . . . strong suspicion must fall upon his theory" (p. 5). Brady wrote his treatise in 1690. Merewether and Stephens, commonly regarded as the best authorities on English municipal history, are constantly cited as "Mereweather and Stevens." Dr. Fellows has great faith in Blackstone as an historical authority. What the latter says about Anglo-Saxon institutions is accepted without hesitation. Smollett, Hume, Nathaniel Bacon, Squire, and other ancients are also resurrected, and turned to account. On the other hand, the author's knowledge of the best modern writers is exemplified by his statements, that "Seebohm believes free Ceorls gradually tended towards serfdom" (p. 26), and that "*all* (*sic*) the authorities upon English history" agree regarding the total obliteration of Roman-British civilization by the Anglo-Saxons (p. 11).

A fundamental error of the work is the failure to regard township and borough as two distinct institutions. With some difficulty the reader ascertains, in chapter i., that the book is really intended as a treatise on towns in the sense of boroughs. On page 14 we find this lucid definition: "Primarily we may perhaps consider a collection of people living in close proximity in permanent dwellings as a town." The following admirably illustrates the author's knowledge of English constitutional history and his method of treatment:

"In the Anglo-Saxon laws the terms town, borough, village, wic, city, hundred, shire, and tything may be seen to be used indiscriminately by different Kings. At the time of the Norman conquest *all* towns and cities were indiscriminately known as *boroughs*. If then we concern ourselves to collect and collate facts relating to usages and government of *towns* [the italics throughout are the author's], we are entitled to consider those relating to any of the above names as characteristic of an Anglo-Saxon town" (p. 14).

The remarkable canon of historical criticism enunciated in the last sentence is followed in the succeeding chapters; township, borough, hundred, shire, and their respective officers, are all jumbled together. To prove a proposition regarding boroughs, any Anglo-Saxon law suffices, even though it refers only to township, hundred, or shire. In like manner burh = borough is confused with burh = castle, and also with borh = surety (pp. 45, 70).

Here are some sample bits of the tattered garb in which the author clothes his ideas:

"Money was paid . . . by weigth (*sic*) when quality was unnoticed and as weighed and burnt when both fineness and weight were tested" (p. 41). "In Charter Rolls No. 64 and of Henry I. to Beverly in 1121, Cities are called upon in 1297 in Laws of 26th Edward I., to send members to Parliament in capacity of boroughs, here the city is called a borough" (p. 15). "No greater evidence of the independence and strength of the towns is found than during the Danish invasion. When the king, Earls, and the forces could not stand successfully against them, it happened frequently that the townsmen drove them away" (p. 87). "What then is the meaning of the term used for people, burg-waru? papu = waru = man" (p. 27). "The Reeve in the Latin version is prefect = Lord, and derived from frith = a peace, it being his special duty to preserve the peace" (p. 38).

What Dr. Fellows calls the "etomological connection" (p. 31) is not clear in these last two quotations. As to typographical errors, they are so common that the reader becomes hardened even to such as this: "Vigfussun and Powells, Corpus Porticum Bosiale" (p. 31).

L'Instruction Publique en France et en Italie au Dix-neuvième Siècle. Par Charles Dejob. Paris: A. Colin & Cie. 12mo, pp. 455.

NEITHER the subject-matter of the four monographs collected by M. Dejob in this volume nor his dreary manner of treating it will attract any but a very limited audience. The first essay is on the boarding-schools for girls established in Italy during the French domination under Napoleon. In Italy the Emperor's interference in education would seem to have been more beneficial than at home. Perhaps this was due to the circumstance that almost any change would have been an improvement. According to M. Dejob, the schooling of girls in Italy, even among the higher classes, was deplorably backward at the beginning of this century. One of the most radical changes made under the French influence was in taking the management of the schools out of the hands of the religious orders. In this one respect at least Napoleon was fully half a century ahead of his time. The internal economy of the schools, however, remained more or less monastic.

In his second essay M. Dejob gives an account of the public courses of lectures established in Paris during the French Revolution, and which, under the names of lyceums and athenæums, flourished, in a more or less languid fashion, until about 1849. They found imitators in other countries, and may perhaps be considered to have given its original impulse to the American lecture system, which at one time occupied so great a share of the public attention. This attempt to give oral instruction to adults had among ourselves, at least latterly, more of a practical, money-making character, and mixed more entertainment with less instruction, although even the Paris Athénée did not disdain to appeal to the more frivolous element by such devices as music, social receptions, etc.

Construction Details, prepared for the use of students of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston. By F. W. Chandler. Boston: Heliotype Printing Co.

SOME years ago Prof. Ware printed for the use of the architectural students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a series of plates to show the details of construction which are employed in ordinary building.

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Prof. Chandler has done the same thing with greater minuteness and completeness in the portfolio of Construction Details which he has just published through the Heliotype Printing Co. of Boston. The general methods of building construction that are in use are not difficult to learn or to teach; but their details are multitudinous, and are in practice acquired but slowly and tediously in the routine of office work, and often slighted in courses of instruction, in which, naturally, the chief attention is reserved for the more difficult branches of an architect's training. It follows that a good many students get into practice without learning them thoroughly, and even, we suspect, a good many architects get to the end of it without finding out such small matters as how the furrings are set for lathing into the corners of a frame house, or how the nailing of the ends of floor-boards is provided for, or a window-sill is made wind-tight and water-tight. These and the rest of the ordinary methods of good building in wood and masonry, and many that are better than ordinary, are shown with admirable clearness and precision in Prof. Chandler's twenty-five folio plates. The multitude of devices which are more or less used is, of course, too great to be given in any course, and many could only be mentioned to condemn them; but all the usual problems are here solved by methods that agree with the best American practice. It would do no harm to the cause of popular education if the notes which illuminate the plates were more orthodox in spelling, and if even the preface were more generous in the use of the definite article.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anderson, Rev. Joseph. The Churches of Mattatuck. New Haven: Price, Lee & Adkins Co.
Ball, W. W. R. Mathematical Recreations and Problems. 2d ed. Macmillan. $2.25.
Clemens, W. M. Mark Twain: his Life and Work. San Francisco: Clemens Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Curry, George. Merrill's English History for School and Home Use. Charles E. Merrill & Co.
Dorland, W. A. N. A Cluster of Pearls for Christian Endeavor Workers. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. 75 cents.

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